



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





**THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE**

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE



FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXI.
FOR THE YEAR 1943.

ARCHAEOLOGIA A E L I A N A

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO ANTIQUITY

EDITED BY

C. H. HUNTER BLAIR

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY OF
ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
BY NORTHUMBERLAND PRESS LIMITED
MCMXLIII

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES
~~STACKS~~ ART LIBRARY

OCT 11 1974

DA 670

N79A6

Ser. 4

v. 21

1943

NORTHUMBERLAND PRESS LIMITED, PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS
SUTHERLAND HOUSE, SOUTH SHORE ROAD
GATESHEAD ON TYNE

CONTENTS

	PAGE
List of plates	ix
Illustrations and plans in text	xi
Contributions of drawings, plans and photographs	xiii
Council and officers for 1943	xv
I.—The sheriffs of Northumberland: Part II. By C. H. Hunter Blair	i
II.—Stones from a Hadrianic war memorial on Tyneside. By Ian A. Richmond and R. P. Wright	93
III.—The inscription on the Jarrow cross. By Wilhelm Levison	121
IV.—Roman legionaries at Corbridge, their supply-base, temples and religious cults. By Ian A. Richmond	127
V.—Judges of assize at Newcastle upon Tyne. By C. H. Hunter Blair	225
VI.—A fragmentary inscription of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus from Corbridge. By William Bulmer	239
VII.—William Henry Knowles. By C. H. Hunter Blair	248
VIII.—Robin George Collingwood. By Ian A. Richmond	254
Index	257

PLATES

	<i>Facing page</i>
I.—Seals of sheriffs, 1617-1838	92
II.—Sheriff's banner	92
III.—Inscription from Jarrow	120
III A.—Stone of Herbert and the Jarrow cross	126
IV—X.—Sculpture from Corbridge	224
XA—XH.—Sculpture, inscriptions and altars from Corbridge	224
XI.—Sheriff's procession to meet the judges	238
XII.—Barge day on Tyne	238
XIII.—Ascension day on Tyne	238
XIV.—William Henry Knowles	248

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	PAGE
Shields of arms of sheriffs	1-88
Seal of Cadwallader Bates	90
Seals of modern sheriffs	91
Stone from Jarrow	95
Stone from Jarrow (at Burlington House)	97
Stones from Jarrow, combined	116
Plan: Corbridge 1941	<i>facing</i> 128
Corbridge, headquarters	130
<i>Scholae</i> at Corbridge	132
Plan: Excavations, Corbridge, 1943	<i>facing</i> 134
Corbridge, Temple I	139
Corbridge, Temple II	141
Jupiter's eagle, restored	153
Dedication slab	169
Corbridge, altars	200
Corbridge, altars	207
Corbridge, altar	209
Plan: Corbridge, 1939, section iv	<i>facing</i> 216
Corbridge, Antonine remains	220
Fragments of Corbridge inscription	239
Fragment from pele tower, Corbridge	241
Fragments conjoined	243
Fragment Corstopitum museum	244
Reconstruction, Corbridge inscription	247

The society also gives its thanks to the Research Committee of King's College in the University of Durham for its generous grant of £100 towards the cost of printing and publishing Mr. I. A. Richmond's paper upon *Roman legionaries at Corbridge, their supply-base, temples and religious cults.*

The thanks of the society are given to the following :—

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON for loan of casts of seals, nos. 1-15, on plate 1.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE PUBLIC LIBRARIES COMMITTEE for permission to photograph seals nos. 17-25 on plate 1.

MR. C. H. HUNTER BLAIR for photographs, by Mr. H. O. Thompson, on plates II, XI, XII and XIII.

MR. I. A. RICHMOND and MR. R. P. WRIGHT for drawings on pages 95, 97 and 116.

REV. T. ROMANS for photographs on plate IIIA.

MR. I. A. RICHMOND for photographs on plates IV (figs. 1 and 3), V, VI, VII (figs. 1 and 3), VIII, IX. And for all the plans and text figures illustrating paper IV.

MR. R. P. WRIGHT for photographs on plate III, figs. 4 and 5 on plate IV, fig. 2 on plate VII and all on plate X.

THE CORPORATION OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE for permission to reproduce the photographs on plates XI, XII, and XIII.

MR. WILLIAM BULMER for the drawings on pages 239, 241, 243 and 244.

MR. L. C. EVETTS for drawing on page 247.

MR. C. KINGSLEY KNOWLES for giving the block and plate of his late father, plate XIV. MESSRS. LAFAYETTE LTD. for permission to reproduce it.

MESSRS. LEADBITTER and HARVEY (per Mr. Thompson) for impressions of the seals on page 91.

DURHAM UNIVERSITY EXCAVATION COMMITTEE for the collotype plates nos. III, IIIA, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X: and for all the line blocks of plans and other illustrations in Mr. Richmond's paper upon Corbridge; also for the line blocks illustrating Mr. William Bulmer's paper, no. VI.

THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE FOR THE YEAR MCMXLIII.

REV. CANON CHARLES EDWIN WHITING, M.A., D.D.,
B.C.L., F.S.A. } PRESIDENT.

CHARLES HENRY HUNTER BLAIR, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A.
JOHN WIGHT DUFF, M.A., F.B.A., D.LITT., LL.D.
LIEUT.-COL. G. R. B. SPAIN, C.M.G., F.S.A. } PAST-PRESIDENTS.

F. GERALD SIMPSON, M.A., Hon.F.S.A.Scot.
SIR WILLIAM WAYMOUTH GIBSON, B.A., LL.M.,
F.S.A.
W. C. SODEN-BIRD.
ROBERT BERTRAM, M.A.
IAN A. RICHMOND, M.A., F.S.A. } VICE-PRESIDENTS.

HERBERT LEWIS HONEYMAN, A.R.I.B.A., SECRETARY.

ERNEST PEARSON SHIELD, TREASURER.

C. H. HUNTER BLAIR, EDITOR OF *Archæologia Aeliana*.

HERBERT LEWIS HONEYMAN, EDITOR OF *Proceedings*.

MADELEINE HOPE DODDS, Hist.Trip.Camb., LIBRARIAN.

WILLIAM BULMER
IAN A. RICHMOND, M.A., F.S.A. } CURATORS OF THE
MUSEUM.

A. H. A. HOGG, M.A., DEPUTY CURATOR.

BETTY BURN, M.A.
JOHN DAVID COWEN, M.A., F.S.A.
WILLIAM PERCY HEDLEY, F.S.A., F.G.S.
HENRY L. HICKS, F.R.I.B.A.
A. H. A. HOGG, M.A.
JAMES MCINTYRE, F.S.A.
W. STANLEY MITCALFE, B.A.
REV. THOMAS ROMANS, M.A., F.S.A.
HON. S. R. VEREKER.
RICHARD PEARSON WRIGHT, M.A. } COUNCIL

F. M. KELLET, C.A., AUDITOR.

MRS. JOHN TEAGUE, WARDEN OF KEEP AND BLACKGATE.

I.—THE SHERIFFS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

PART II, 1603-1942.*

BY C. H. HUNTER BLAIR.

[Read on 25th February 1942.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR PARTS II AND III.

- Archæologia Aeliana*, specially 3rd ser., vols. VII-XVII and XX-XXI.
Armorial Families, by A. C. Fox-Davies, seventh edition.
British Museum—*Catalogue of Seals*.
Burke's Peerage, Baronetage, Commoners and Landed Gentry, various editions.
Calendars of Close and Patent Rolls.
Calendar of the Cursitor's Records, Durham, being the appendices to the 31st-40th reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.
Complete Peerage, new edition.
County Palatine of Durham, by G. T. Lapsley.
Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis—Surtees Society 58.
List of Sheriffs, Lists and Indexes, IX.
History of Northumberland, John Hodgson.
History of Northumberland, County History Committee.
History of Durham, William Hutchinson.
History of Durham, Robert Surtees.
History of North Durham, James Raine.
Public Record Office, casts of seals, etc.
Records Series, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.
Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense, ed. Hardy.
Surtees Society Publications.
Society of Antiquaries, London, seals, etc.

* Continued from vol. xx, p. 89.

The sheriffs in this part complete the list from 1603 to the present day. Men from the same class of country gentlemen continued to fill the office. The storm of the Civil War caused no cessation in the regular sequence, Delavals, Mitfords, Middletons, Ogles and Fenwicks, men probably in sympathy with the parliamentary cause but of the same type as heretofore, were appointed; nor did the Revolution of 1688 disturb the continuity, Sir William Blackett, a baronet of James II creation, served in the first year of William and Mary. It is interesting to note how the names of old Northumbrian families persist through the centuries; for five hundred years (1235-1735) Greys of Heton, Chillingham, Horton and Howick were sheriffs, at intervals, more than a score of times; Herons of Hadstone, Ford, Crawley, Eshot and Chipchase almost equalled that record (1246-1669) whilst Ogles, Horsleys, Middletons, Delavals, Claverings, Widdringtons, Crasters and Collingwoods continually recur.

The union of the crowns in 1603 brought peace to the Borders, it was no longer a duty of the sheriff to defend the Marches of England towards Scotland, nor to raise the array of the county to "preserve the English tongue from destruction," nor to keep the royal castles of his bailiwick garrisoned and fortified. Their lives became more a record of the peaceful administration of county business and of a gradual diminution of power as their duties were delegated to other authorities.

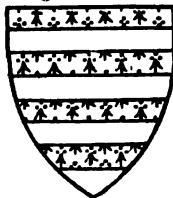
In the early eighteenth century the names of the older families became less frequent and unfamiliar names began to appear. The greatly increased trade of Newcastle upon Tyne and its neighbourhood brought wealth to its merchants and coalowners or later to those who as shipbuilders, engineers, ironmasters and bankers did so much to expand that trade. These men purchased landed estates in the county and so became eligible to serve, in their turn, the office of the shrievalty, partly displacing the older families, but not entirely, for in 1909 an Ogle was sheriff and in 1937 a Collingwood filled the office.

Castles or castle gateways continued to be the chief motive upon their seals until towards the middle of the nineteenth century. The sombre fortresses, portcullised and battlemented, of earlier seals, often distinguished by the "boast of heraldry" (pl. III, vol. xx), gave place, in the early seventeenth century, to gay mansions of castellated style with round towers and balconied cupolas from which flags and pennons flew (pl. I, nos. 3, 6, 13). The crest of the user was often shown above, with his initials in Roman script at each side and the name of the county on the exergue beneath (pl. I, nos. 3, 5, 6). By the end of the eighteenth century these pleasant buildings gave place, at least in Northumberland, to gaunt ugly gaols suggesting nothing beyond the sheriffs' dealings with prisoners and captives (pl. I, nos. 16-23).

About the middle of the nineteenth century, in Northumberland and probably elsewhere, the motive was entirely changed; castles and gaols were discarded and an armorial seal, with the sheriff's name and date around it, was used. These sometimes display the user's achievement of arms, sometimes only his shield or merely his crest upon its wreath; all beautified with ornamental scrolls and mantling in the best style of modern commercial heraldic art*—suitable indeed for the utilitarian rubber stamps which have supplanted the finely engraved mediaeval seals. Some of these are illustrated on page 91.

JAMES I, 1603-25.

1603. WILLIAM SELBY, the younger, esq.

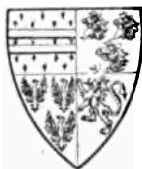


Barry of eight ermine and sable.

Son of Sir John Selby of Twizell, married Dorothy Bonham. M.P. 1592, 1597 and 1601, knighted by king James 1603, succeeded in 1611 to the estates of his uncle Sir William Selby in Kent; gentleman porter of Berwick in succession to his father, died 1637.

* Cadwallader Bates, in 1890, returned to the mediaeval style, see p. 90 *post*.

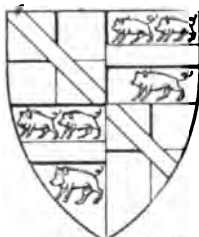
1604. RALPH DELAVAL, esq.



Quarterly 1 ermine two bars vert—Delaval, 11 gules three horses' heads rased silver bridled sable—Horsley, 111 gules three eagles displayed silver—? 1V gules a lion rampant ermine crowned gold—?

Son of Sir Robert (sheriff 1575), knighted at Whitehall Feb. 1607, married Jane daughter of Thomas Hilton of Hilton, died 1628, buried in the quire of Seaton Delaval chapel.

Feb. 1606. HENRY WIDDINGTON, knt.

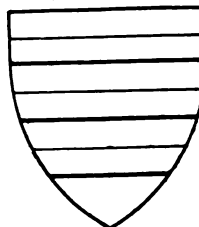


Quarterly 1 and 1V, quarterly silver and gules a bend sable—Widdington, 11 and 111 gules a fess between three swine silver—Swinburne.

Son and heir of Edward Widdington, whom he succeeded in 1592, married Mary daughter of Sir Henry Curwen, knighted by king James at Widdington, 9 April 1603, deputy warden and keeper of Ridsdale under Sir Robert Carey, M.P. Northumberland 1604, 1615 and 1621, died 1623.

1606. SIR WILLIAM SELBY, knt., as 1603.

1607. GEORGE SELBY, knt.



Barry gold and sable (a crescent for difference).

Son of William Selby, mayor of Newcastle 1589; married Margaret daughter of Sir John Selby of Twizell; alderman, sheriff and mayor of Newcastle, M.P. 1601, knighted at the coronation of James I April 1603, died 1625, buried in St. Nicholas.

1608. RALPH DELAVAL, knt., as 1604.

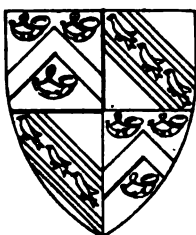
1609. EDWARD TALBOT, esq., as 1601.

1610. JOHN DELAVAL, esq.

Arms as 1604, with due difference. Second son of Sir Robert (sheriff 1575), had grant of North Dissington from his father and purchased, c. 1610, South Dissington, knighted 4 May 1617 at Newcastle, town clerk of Newcastle 1623, M.P. Northumberland 1626, died 1652, buried in Newburn church. His ledger stone at Newburn shows slightly different quarterings, omitting Horsley and adding Greystock. (AA⁴ VIII, pl. x.)

1611. RALPH GREY, knt., as 1582.

1612. CLAUDIUS FORSTER, esq.

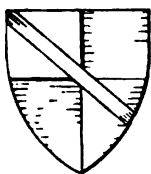


Arms as 1550. Son and heir of Nicholas Forster of Bamburgh (sheriff 1602) whom he succeeded in 1614, married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Wm. Fenwick of Wallington, knighted by the king at Newmarket 19 March 1614, created a baronet 1619, died s.p. 1623.

1613. RALPH SELBY, knt.

Arms as 1603. Brother of Sir William (sheriff 1603) to whose northern estates he succeeded, married Barbara daughter of John Roddam of Roddam, mayor of Berwick 1631, died 1646.

1614. JOHN CLAVERING, knt.



Quarterly gold and gules a bend sable.

Son and heir of Robert Clavering of Callaly and his wife Mary Collingwood, married Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Riddell, knighted 16 January 1614, partly rebuilt Callaly castle, a royalist, died in a London prison 1647.

1615. HENRY ANDERSON, knt.



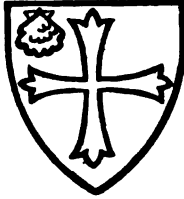
Gold on a chevron gules between three falcons' heads rased sable, three slipt acorns silver, on a canton silver three martlets sable.

Son of Henry (sheriff 1586), was of Haswell, co. Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne, mayor

of the town 1613, M.P. 1614 and later, knighted August 1608, married Mary Remington, disabled from sitting in parliament and imprisoned for deserting the parliamentary cause 1640, living 1643.

1616. WILLIAM SELBY, knt., as 1603.

1617. ROBERT BRANDLING, esq.

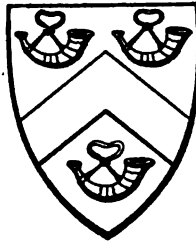


Gules a cross flory silver an escallop silver in the quarter.

Son and heir of William Brandling of Felling and North Gosforth, born 1574, had grant of Newminster 1610, M.P. Morpeth 1620, married firstly Jane Wortley, secondly Mary Hilton; died 1636.

1618. THOMAS MIDDLETON of Bellasses (Belsay); esq., as 1599.

1620. MATTHEW FORSTER, knt.



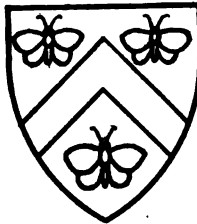
Silver a chevron vert between three hunting horns sable with due difference.

Illegitimate son of Thomas Forster of Adderstone, knighted by James I at Durham, 23 April 1617, married Catherine daughter of Sir Ralph Grey of Chillingham, succeeded to Beadnell by his father's will and to Adderstone by the will of his

grandfather Thomas (sheriff 1564).

1621. RALPH DELAVAL, knt., as 1604.

1622. WILLIAM MUSCAMP, knt.



Azure three butterflies silver.

Son and heir of George (sheriff 1597), knighted at Berwick 11 May 1617, married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Nicholas Gilborne of Kent, admitted burgess of Berwick 1627, died 1631.

1623. JOHN CLAVERING, knt., as 1614.

1624. JOHN DELAVAL, knt., as 1610.

CHARLES I, 1625-49.

1625. CUTHBERT HERON, esq.



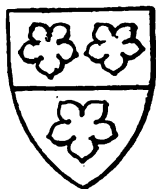
Gules three herons silver.

Son and heir of Cuthbert Heron of Chipchase, married firstly Anne Carnaby and secondly Dorothy daughter of Sir William Fenwick, rebuilt the manor house at Chipchase.

1626. FRANCIS BRANDLING, knt.

Arms as 1617. Son and heir of Robert (sheriff 1617), born 1595, knighted at Brougham castle 6 August 1617, married firstly Elizabeth Grey, secondly Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Pitt, purchased Alnwick Abbey, M.P. Northumberland 1623 and 1625, died 1640.

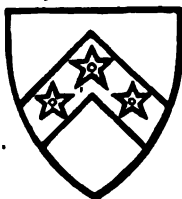
1627-28. THOMAS SWINBURNE, knt.



Per fess gules and silver three cinquefoils countercoloured.

Son and heir of John Swinburne of Edlingham and Nafferton. Aged twenty-six at visitation of 1615, married Margaret Lee of Brandon, knighted at Newmarket 8 Feb. 1624, died 1645. His expenses as sheriff see H.N. III, i, 358.

1629. THOMAS CARR OF FORD, esq.

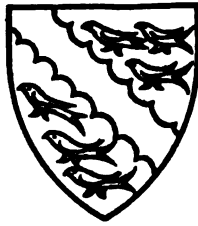


Gules on a chevron silver three molets sable.

Son and heir of William Carr and his wife Ursula Brandling, born 1577, gentleman of the Chamber to James I, married Isabel daughter of Sir John Selby, died 1641.

1630-31. ROBERT BRANDLING, esq., as 1617.

1632. NICHOLAS TEMPEST, knt.



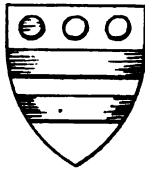
Silver a bend engrailed between six martlets sable (a martlet for difference).

Son of Nicholas Tempest of Thornley, hostman of Newcastle, sheriff of the town in 1620, knighted at Theobalds 18 June 1621, died 1656.

1633. THOMAS MIDDLETON, esq., as 1599.

1634. JOHN DELAVAL, knt., as 1610.

1635. WILLIAM CARNABY, knt.



Silver two bars and in chief three roundels azure.

Son and heir of William Carnaby of Langley and Thernham, married Jane Bindloss, knighted at Northampton 10 Aug. 1619, M.P. Morpeth 1624, M.P. Northumberland 1628,

expelled from Commons for his royalist opinions and for raising forces for the king, fought at Marston Moor, estates sequestrated, fled to France where he died 1645.

1636. WILLIAM WIDDRINGTON, knt.

Arms as 1606. Son and heir of Sir Henry (sheriff 1606), born 1611, married Mary Thorald; M.P. Northumberland 1641-42, knighted at Newmarket 19 March 1631, baronet 9 July 1642; created baron Widdrington of Blankney 2 Nov. 1643, expelled from Commons 1642 for raising forces against parliament, fought under the Duke of Newcastle, killed in a skirmish at Wigan 3 Sept. 1651.

Sept. 1637. THOMAS FORSTER, esq.

Arms as 1620. Son and heir of Sir Matthew (sheriff 1620), married Mary daughter of Sir William Fenwick, died 1637.

9 Oct. 1637. THOMAS MIDDLETON, esq., as 1599.

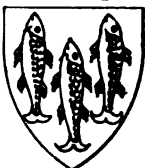
22 Oct. 1637. ROBERT BEWICKE, esq.



Silver on a fess indented of five fusils gules, between three bears' heads rased sable, five pierced molets silver.

Son of Andrew Bewicke of Newcastle, born 1561, merchant and hostman of Newcastle, mayor 1628 and 1637, bought Close House estate 1626 and Urpeth 1640, died March 1641.

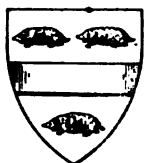
Nov. 1638. WILLIAM ORDE, esq.



Sable three salmon paleways silver.

Son of John Orde of Weetwood, married Elizabeth Strother, bailiff of Berwick 1615, mayor 1634, compounded for his estates 1649, died 1652.

1640. ROBERT MITFORD, esq.



Silver a fess between three moles sable,

Son and heir of Cuthbert Mitford of Mitford, married Philadelphia Wharton, had grant from Charles II of castle and manor of Mitford, entered his pedigree at Dugdale's visitation of 1666, died 1674.

1641. WILLIAM SELBY, esq.

Arms as 1607. Probably son and heir of Alexander Selby of Biddlestone, succeeded his father 1632, married Helen Haggerstone, died 1642.

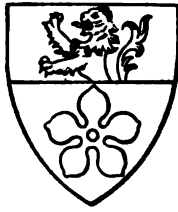
1642. GILBERT SWINHOF, esq.



Silver three swine passant sable.

Son of James Swinhof of Ancroft and Berwick, married Dorothy daughter of Sir Henry Guevara, owned Berrington.

1643. MICHAEL WELDON, esq.

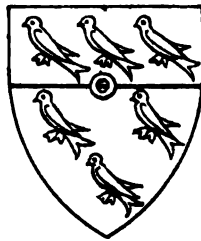


Silver a pierced cinquefoil gules on a chief gules a demi-lion rampant silver.

Son and heir of William Weldon of Welton and Thornburgh, sold Thornburgh 1636, freeholder 1638, colonel in Scottish army 1644, member of committee for compounding with delinquents, married firstly

Margaret Fenwick of Brinkburn, secondly Mary daughter of Sir Wm. Fenwick of Wallington.

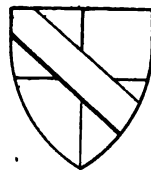
1644. JOHN FENWICK, bart.



Silver a chief gules and six martlets counter-coloured, with difference.

Son of Sir William of Wallington and his wife Grace Forster; Hexham abbey settled upon him, in 1602, by his grandfather Sir John Forster, in 1632 he purchased the regality of Hexham, M.P. for Northumberland, created a baronet 1628, disabled from sitting in parliament 1643, died about 1658.

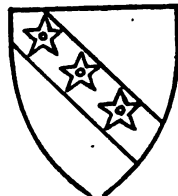
1645. ROBERT CLAVERING OF BRINKBURN, esq.



Quarterly gold and gules a bend sable (with due difference).

Probably Robert Clavering of Learchild who died in Newgate gaol, Newcastle, in 1647.

1646. WILLIAM SHAFTO OF BAVINGTON, esq.



Gules on a bend silver three molets azure.

Son and heir of Edward Shafto of Little Bavington and his wife Margery Heron, married Frances daughter of Thomas Dalston; a captain in Cromwell's army, commissioner for the Oliverian survey of ecclesiastical livings, died 1657.

1647-48. ROBERT LISLE OF FELTON, esq.



Ermine a lion rampant azure.

Second son of Robert Lisle and his wife Catherine Carnaby, married Dorothy daughter of Sir Thomas Horsley, succeeded to his brother William 1617, died 1659.

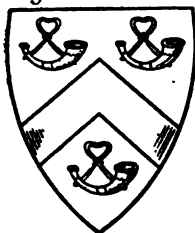
COMMONWEALTH, 1649-53.

Nov. 1649. RALPH DELAVAL OF SEATON, esq.

Arms as 1604. Grandson and heir of Sir Ralph Delaval (sheriff 1604), born 1622, educated Queen's College, Oxford, admitted to Lincoln's Inn 1639, M.P. for Northumberland 1659-81, created a baronet 1660, married Anne daughter of Alexander Leslie, earl of Leven, died 1691.

1650. ROBERT MITFORD OF MITFORD, esq., as 1640.

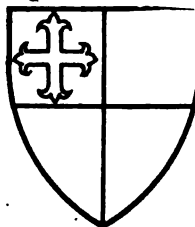
1651. RICHARD FORSTER OF NEWHAM, esq.



Silver a chevron vert between three hunting horns sable, with due difference.

Son and heir of John Forster of Tuggal and Newham, aged seventeen at herald's visitation of 1615, married Grace Armorer of Belford, died 1661.

1652. ROBERT MIDDLETON OF BELSAY, esq.



Quarterly gules and gold a cross patonce silver in the quarter.

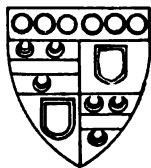
Son of Charles Middleton and his wife Dorothy Bindloss; admitted to Gray's Inn 1640, Christ's College, Cambridge. 1642; died 1658.

OLIVER CROMWELL—LORD PROTECTOR, 1653-58.

1653. ROBERT SHAFTO OF BENWELL, esq.

Arms as 1646. Son and heir of Robert Shafto of Benwell Tower and his wife Jane Eden, born 1596, bought a moiety of Benwell manor, married Jane daughter of Bertram Anderson, died 1670.

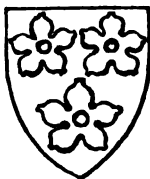
1654. JOHN OGLE OF EGLINGHAM, esq.



Quarterly I and IV silver a fess between three crescents gules—Ogle, II and III gold an orle azure—Bertram, over all on a chief azure six annulets gold—Musgrave.

Son and heir of Henry Ogle of Eglington and his wife Jane Forster, captain of array, commissioner for compounding, married Eleanor Pringle, bought part of Ingram 1649, died c. 1684.

1655. LUKE KILLINGWORTH, esq.



Silver three cinquefoils pierced sable.

Son of Oliver Killingworth and his first wife Fortune Ogle, lessee of the tithes and parsonage of Long Benton, J.P. for Northumberland, treasurer of Sequestration committee, bought manor of Hepple, died 1672, buried at Nottingham.

1656-57. EDWARD FENWICK OF STANTON, esq.

Arms as 1644, with due difference. He was son and heir of William Fenwick and his wife Elizabeth Gargrave, born 1606, succeeded to Stanton 1647, married Sarah Neville, died 1689.

1658. WILLIAM FENWICK, esq.

Arms as above. There were numerous William Fenwicks living about this time and the writer is unable to identify this man with certainty. He may have been son of the above Edward.

1659. EDWARD FENWICK, esq., as 1657.

CHARLES II, 1660-85.

1660. RALPH JENISON, esq.



Azure a bend gold between two swans silver. Son and heir of William Jenison of Newcastle, born 1613, purchased Elswick 1640, sheriff of Newcastle 1648, mayor 1668, knighted at Whitehall 1677, J.P. and D.L. for the county, died 1701.

1661. MARK MILBANK, esq.



Gules a bend ermine, on a canton gold a lion's head rased gules.

Son of William Milbank, merchant-mariner of North Shields; merchant, mercer and hostman of Newcastle, sheriff of the town 1638, mayor 1658 and 1672, married Dorothy Cock, entered

his pedigree at Dugdale's visitation of 1666, died 1677.

1662. THOMAS BEWICKE, esq.

Arms as 1637. Son of Robert Bewicke of Newcastle and Close House (sheriff 1637); born 1606, merchant of Newcastle, married Jane Calverley, sheriff of Durham 1655, entered his pedigree at Dugdale's visitation of 1666, died 1690.

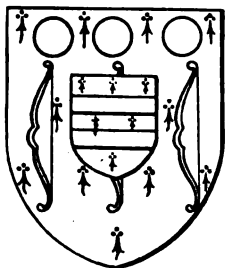
1663. THOMAS HORSLEY, knt.



Gules three horses' heads silver, bridled sable.

Son of Lancelot Horsley and his wife Jane Widdrington, lived at Long Horsley and entertained General Monk there in 1660, married Eleanor Calverley, entered his pedigree at Dugdale's visitation of 1666, died 1685.

1664. FRANCIS BOWES, knt.



Ermine three longbows paleways sable, in chief three roundels gules, in pretence ermine two bars vert—Delaval.

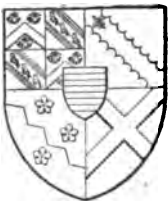
Son and heir of Henry Bowes, merchant and sheriff of Newcastle, was of Thornton, co. Durham; married firstly Eleanor Maddison and secondly Catherine Tonge and thirdly Margaret daughter and co-heir of Robert Delaval of Cowpen:

entered his pedigree at Dugdale's visitation of 1666, died 1677.

1665. WILLIAM MIDDLETON, esq.

Arms as 1652. Son of Ralph Middleton of East Heddon, succeeded him in 1648 and to Belsay 1658, married firstly Mary Wentworth and secondly Elizabeth Mundy, entered his pedigree at the visitation of 1666 then aged forty-one, created a baronet 1666, died 1691.

1666. WILLIAM FORSTER, knt.



Quarterly i quarterly 1 and 4 Forster, 2 and 3 Adderstone, ii silver on a bend engrailed sable a fleur-de-lis gold—Radcliffe, iii per bend dancetty silver and azure three cinquefoils countercoloured—Chaytor, iv sable a saltire gold—Clervaux, in pretence barry gold and sable—Selby.

Son and heir of Nicholas Forster of Bamburgh and Blanchland and his wife Agnes Chaytor; born 1636, married Dorothy daughter and heiress of Sir William Selby of Twizell; knighted 3 Dec. 1660, entered his pedigree, then aged thirty, 1666; died 1674.

1667. CUTHBERT HERON, bart.

Arms as 1625. Second son of Cuthbert Heron of Chipchase (sheriff 1625), married firstly Elizabeth Graham and secondly Elizabeth Frotheringham of Newcastle, created a baronet 20 May 1662, died 1688.

6 Nov. 1668. ROBERT SHAFTO OF BENWELL, esq., as 1653.

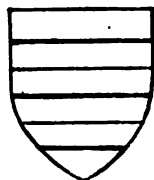
25 Nov. 1668. CUTHBERT HERON, bart., as 1667.

1669. JOHN HERON OF BOCKENFIELD, esq.



Gules a chevron between three herons silver. Son and heir of Richard Heron of Bockenfield in Felton, married firstly Jane Spink and secondly Elizabeth Boynton, entered his pedigree at visitation of 1666, then aged fifty-two, sold Bockenfield 1672, died 1678.

1670. WILLIAM SELBY, esq.



Barry gold and sable, with due difference. Probably William Selby of Beal who died 1671 or his son who died 1709.

1671. FRANCIS ADDISON, esq.



Sable a chevron silver between three spread eagles gold.

Son and heir of John Addison of Ovingham and his wife Isabel Liddell of Ravensworth, he succeeded his father at Ovingham 1644, married Margaret Scurfield, certified his pedigree at the visitation of 1666, then aged twenty-five, died 1692.

1672. JOHN FORSTER, esq.

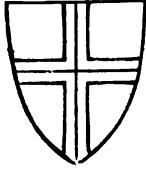
Arms as 1620. Probably John Forster of Cornhill, a younger son of Sir M. Forster of Adderstone (sheriff 1620), died 1680.

1673. MARTIN FENWICK, esq.

Arms as 1644, with due difference. He was son and heir of John Fenwick of Butterley, aged eighteen at the visitation of 1615, married Elizabeth daughter and co-

heir of Robert Fenwick of Kenton ; of Christ's College, Cambridge ; purchased part of Cowpen and Heddon on the Wall, died 1680.

5 Nov. 1674. THOMAS LORAINE, bart.



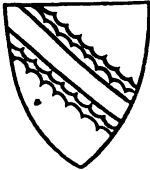
Quarterly sable and silver a cross counter-coloured of the field.

Son and heir of Thomas Loraine of Kirkharle and his wife Elizabeth Maddison, certified his pedigree at the visitation of 1666 and was then twenty-nine years of age, married Grace Fenwick, died 1718.

1675. JOHN SHAFTO, esq.

Arms as 1646. Son of Edward Shafto of Bavington, married Frances Fenwick, was twenty-five years of age at the visitation of 1666.

1676. UTRECHT WHITFIELD, esq.



Silver a bend between two cotises engrailed sable.

Son and heir of Sir Matthew Whitfield of Whitfield, married Anne daughter of Sir John Eden, died 1685.

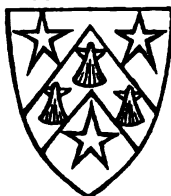
1677. FRANCIS FORSTER, esq.

Arms as 1620, with due difference. Probably younger son of Thomas Forster of Adderstone, was of Easington Grange and the South Bailey, Durham ; married Elizabeth daughter of Gabriel Clarke, prebendary of Durham, died 1681.

1678. MARK MILBANK, bart.

Arms as 1661. Son and heir of Mark (sheriff 1661), he was of Newcastle and of Halnaby, Yorks., aged twenty-four in 1666, married Elizabeth Acclom, created a baronet 1673, died 1680.

1679. EDWARD BLACKETT, bart.



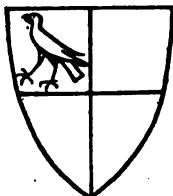
Silver on a chevron, between three molets sable, three escallops silver.

Second baronet, son of Sir William Blackett of Newcastle and Willimoteswick; purchased Newby Hall, Yorks.; M.P. Northumberland 1698, married firstly Mary Norton, secondly Mary York and thirdly Diana lady Delaval; died 1718.

1680. HENRY OGLE OF EGLINGHAM, esq.

Arms as 1654. Son and heir of John (sheriff 1654), educated Magdalen college, Cambridge; married firstly Appolina Howard of Elsdon, secondly Grace Wid-drington; died 1711.

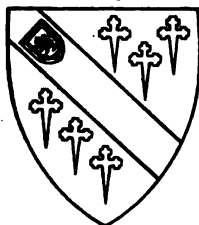
1681-82. EDMUND CRASTER, esq.



Quarterly gold and gules, a crow in the quarter.

Son and heir of William Craster and his wife Ann Kellam, married Barbara Fenwick, succeeded his father 1650, died 1684.

1683-84. JAMES HOWARD, esq.



Gules on a bend between six crosses-crosslet fitchy silver an escutcheon gold charged with a demi-lion rampant pierced through the mouth by an arrow within a double tressure gules, with difference.

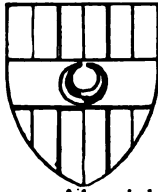
Son of Sir Charles Howard of Redesdale; Redesdale conveyed to him for life in 1670.

In 1673 he is styled of Redesdale Hall (Overacres), married Dorothy Errington of Bingfield.

JAMES II, 1685-88.

1685. MARK MILBANK, bart., as 1678.

1686-87. RICHARD NEILE, esq.



Paly of six silver and gules on a fess gules a crescent for difference.

He was grandson of Richard Neile, bishop of Durham and archbishop of York, son of Sir Paul Neile, knt.; he married. c. 1667 Anne Widdrington widow of Charles Brandling of Alnwick Abbey; he was in the service of bishop Cosin of Durham and owned the manors of Plessy and Shotton; knighted at Whitehall when sheriff 29 Nov. 1686, died in London.

WILLIAM AND MARY, 1688-94.

1688. WILLIAM BLACKETT, bart.

Arms as 1679. Son of Sir William Blackett of Newcastle and brother of Sir Edward Blackett (sheriff 1679), born 1647, married Julia Conyers, lived at Wallington, created a baronet 23 Jan. 1685, died 1705.

1689. JOHN HERON, bart.

Arms as 1625. Grandson of Cuthbert (sheriff 1625) and second son of Sir Cuthbert Heron of Chipchase, first baronet, and his first wife Elizabeth Graham; he succeeded as second baronet 1688, married Anne Heron of Brampton, Hunts., died 1692.

1690. JOSEPH CARR, esq.



Gold on a bend, between three Cornish choughs sable, three leopards' heads rased gold, with due difference.

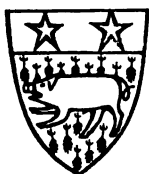
A younger son of William Carr of Coxlodge and brother of Sir Ralph Carr, knt., mayor and M.P. Newcastle; he was born about 1650, in 1677 leased lands in Kenton from Martin Fenwick and owned Coxlodge in 1721.

1691. JOHN BLACKETT, esq.

Arms as 1679, with due difference. Second son of Christopher Blackett of Hoppyland, Durham, born

1635, merchant and boothman of Newcastle, was of Wylam, married Mary Errington, buried at Ovingham 16th Sept. 1707.

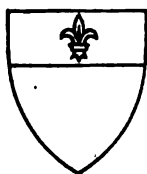
1692. JOHN BACON, esq.



Ermine a boar passant azure, armed etc. gold, langued gules, on a chief gold two molets gules.

Second son of George Bacon of Staward, succeeded his elder brother 1674, married Isabel Deacon of Wolsingham, bought Bellister 1697 and Styford 1708, died at Staward 1736, buried Haydon Bridge.

1693. JOHN ROGERS, esq.



Silver on a chief gules a fleur-de-lis sable.

Son and heir of John Rogers, merchant of Newcastle; was aged ten at visitation of 1666, married Elizabeth daughter of Benjamin Ellison of Newcastle, purchased lands in East and West Denton from the Erringtons in 1689, purchased coal mines there from James Clavering 1706, died 1709, buried in St. Nicholas, Newcastle.

WILLIAM III, 1694-1702.

1694. ROBERT BEWICKE, esq.

Arms as 1637. Son and heir of Thomas Bewicke of Newcastle and Close House (sheriff 1662), aged twenty-three at the visitation of 1666, died 1704.

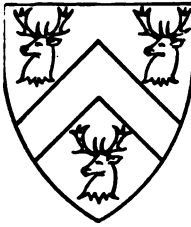
1695. ROBERT SHAFTO, esq.

Arms as 1653. Of Benwell Tower, born 1664; at St. John's College, Cambridge; married Dorothy Heslrigg of Nosley, died 1714.

1696. ROBERT MITFORD, esq.

Arms as 1640. Son and heir of Humphrey Mitford of Mitford, aged four at the visitation of 1666, married Anne Ashton.

1697. EDWARD COLLINGWOOD OF BYKER, esq.



Silver a chevron between three stags' heads rased sable, with due difference.

Younger son of Ralph Collingwood of East Ditchburn, born 1629, member of Gray's Inn, bought North Dissington from Sir Ralph Delaval 1673, married Anne widow of Francis Grey of Newcastle, died 1701.

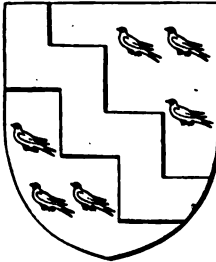
1698. ROBERT HESELRIGG, esq.



Silver a chevron between three hazel leaves vert.

Of Swarland, succeeded upon the death of his elder brother William in 1681, left his lands in Felton and Swarland to Sir Robert Heselrigg by will 1714, died 1716.

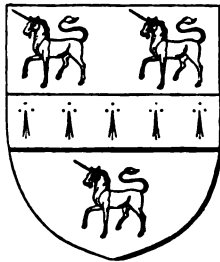
Jan. 1699. RALPH SCURFIELD, esq.



Gules a bend danced between six martlets silver.

Son and heir of William Scurfield of Eachwick and Newcastle and his wife Margaret Fenwick, sold Eachwick in 1654 to Sir Thomas Widdrington; he married Sarah daughter of Robert Bell of Newcastle, repurchased Eachwick in 1670.

Nov. 1699. WILLIAM WILKINSON, esq.



Azure a fess erminois between three unicorns passant silver.

Younger son of Richard Wilkinson of Crossgate, Durham; died 1717, buried in St. Margaret's, Durham.

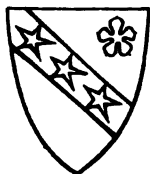
1700. JOHN GREY, esq.



Gules a lion rampant and a border engrailed silver, with due difference.

Probably John Grey of Howick, son and heir of John Grey of Acton and Howick; born 1670, married Margaret Pearson, died 1710.

1 Jan. 1702. GAWEN AYNESLEY, esq.



Gules on a bend silver three molets azure, a cinquefoil gold in dexter chief.

Younger son of Gawen Aynsley of Harnham, born 1669, succeeded to Harnham and Little Harle after his father's death, married Elizabeth daughter of Roger Fenwick of Stanton, died 1750.

19 Jan. 1702. WILLIAM BROWNE OF BOLTON, esq.



Gules a chevron ermine between three lions' jamps rased silver.

Of Ewart, purchased Bolton about 1697 and Branton c. 1711, married Margaret Smith of Scremerston, died 1712.

2 Feb. 1702. ALEXANDER BROWNE OF DOXFORD, esq.

Arms as above. Alexander was younger brother of William, purchased Doxford and Ellingham from the Armorers at the end of seventeenth century, died 1706, leaving all his lands to his brother William.

26 Feb. 1702. WILLIAM BROWNE, esq., as Jan. 1702.

ANNE, 1702-14.

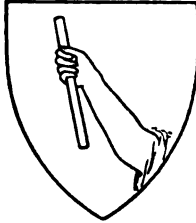
3 Dec. 1702. THOMAS FORSTER, esq.

Arms as 1620. Son and heir of colonel Thomas Forster of Adderstone, born 1659, married Frances daughter of Sir Wm. Forster of Bamburgh; M.P. Northumberland 1705, died 1725.

1703. JAMES CLAVERING, bt.

Arms as 1645. Grandson and heir of Sir Jas. Clavering, first baronet of Axwell; born 1665, succeeded to the title and estates 1702, died 1707.

1704. JOHN CLENNELL OF WEST LILBURN, esq.



Azure a dexter arm, vested, proper grasping a baton gold in the hand.

He was of Middleton Hall in Wooler, married Elizabeth Collingwood 1674, purchased West Lilburn from the Ogles and Protters, died 1713.

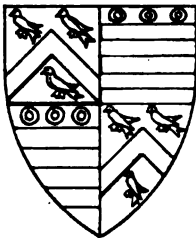
1705. GABRIEL HALL, esq.

Gold a chevron azure between three hounds' heads rased azure on a chief gules three molets silver.

He was of Catcleugh and Otterburn; the former he bought in 1678, the latter after the attainder and death of John Hall; he died at Otterburn tower 1733, buried in Elsdon church,

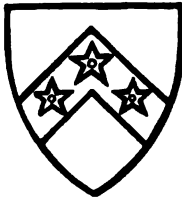
1706. HENRY OGLE, esq., as 1680.

1707. ROBERT LAWSON, esq.



Silver a chevron between three martlets sable—Lawson, quartering barry silver and azure in chief three roundels—Cramlington. Son and heir of John Lawson of West Cramlington, admitted Lincoln's Inn 1688, bought Chirton 1704, married firstly Rebecca Farr and secondly Margaret Hilton, died 1737.

Feb. 1709. WILLIAM CARR OF ESHOT, esq.



Gules on a chevron silver three molets sable.

Son and heir of William Carr of Eshot and Hetton, born 1658, married firstly Jane Strother of Fowberry and secondly Elizabeth Porter, died 1738.

Dec. 1709. JOHN HORSLEY, esq.



Gules three horses' heads rased silver bridled sable.

Son and heir of George Horsley of Milburne Grange, married Jane Reay of Newcastle, bought Bolam 1727, lived at Newham and died there 1756, buried Ponteland.

24 Nov. 1710. GEORGE FLETCHER, esq.



Silver a cross engrailed sable between four roundels sable, each charged with a pheon silver.

He was of Thropton Spital, died during his year of office, buried at Rothbury, styled captain on his ledger stone there.

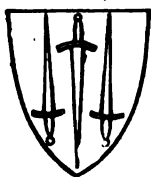
Feb. 1711. SIR JOHN MIDDLETON, bt.

Arms as 1652. Second baronet of Belsay, son and heir of Sir William Middleton (sheriff 1665), born 1679, educated Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, married Frances Lambert, died 1717.

Dec. 1711. WILLIAM ORDE, esq.

Arms as 1638. Probably son of John Orde and Jane Bowes and brother of John who purchased Fenham and Newminster Abbey, died c. 1755.

Jan. 1712. HENRY RAWLINGS, esq.



Sable three swords paleways silver, hilts gold, the centre sword pointed downwards.

Probably a grandson of Henry Rawlings, merchant and mayor of Newcastle in 1656. Nothing has been found about him.

Dec. 1712. WILLIAM FENWICK, esq.

Arms as 1644. Son and heir of Sir Robert Fenwick, knt., of Bywell, succeeded 1691, married firstly Susanne

Bacon of Staward and secondly Elizabeth Fenwick of Stanton.

1713. MARK STROTHER, esq.



Silver on a bend gules three eagles displayed vert.

Second son of colonel William Strother of Kirknewton, born 1660, died 1726.

GEORGE I, 1714-27.

1714. JOHN JOHNSON OF BEBSIDE, esq.

Sable on a bend, between two towers silver, three pheons gules, on a chief gold a lion passant between two lozenges azure.

Admitted hostman of Newcastle company 1705, purchased Bebside 1702 and lands in Preston and Murton in 1714 and 1718, died 1727, buried All Saints.

1715. JOHN ROGERS OF EAST DENTON, esq.

Arms as 1693. Son and heir of John (sheriff 1693), born 1685, married Anne Delaval 1713, died 1758.

1716. RALPH JENISON OF ELSWICK, esq.

Arms as 1660. Son and heir of Robert Jenison of Elswick and Walworth, married Susan Allan; M.P. Northumberland 1722-27 and 1734; Master of Stag-hounds to George II, sold Elswick 1742, died 1758.

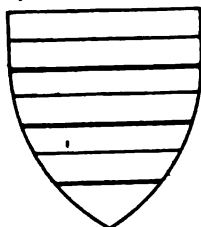
Dec. 1716. RALPH JENISON OF WOOLSINGTON, esq.

Arms as 1660. Probably the son of Robert Jenison, merchant of Newcastle; married his cousin Barbara daughter of Robert Jenison of Elswick and Walworth.

1717. ROBERT SHAFTO OF BENWELL, esq.

Arms as 1646. Son and heir of Robert (sheriff 1695), married Mary Jenison, died 1735.

1718. WILLIAM COATSWORTH, esq.



Silver three bars gules.

Younger son of Michael Coatsworth, hostman of Newcastle; leased manor of Gateshead 1716, built Gateshead Park c. 1723, purchased Bellister castle, married Hannah Watson, died 1727.

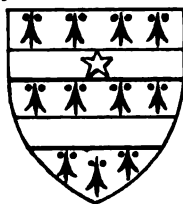
Jan. 1720. MATTHEW WHITE, esq.



Silver three cocks' heads rased sable combed and wattled gules.

Son and heir of Matthew White of Newcastle and his wife Jane Fenwick, married Elizabeth Johnson, governor of Merchants' Company of Newcastle 1712-1739, lived at Blagdon and died there 1750, buried All Saints.

Jan. 1721. EDWARD DELAVAL, esq.



Ermine two bars vert a molet for difference. Second son of George Delaval of Dissington, married Mary widow of Ralph Ord, daughter and coheiress of Sir Francis Blake, died 1744, buried Newburn.

14 Dec. 1721. ISAAC ALLGOOD OF BRANDON, esq.



Silver a cross engrailed gules between four molets azure on a chief gold three roses gules. Son and heir of Major Allgood and Mary Pye, born 1683, heir of his uncle Lancelot Allgood to Brandon and Reaveley, educated St. John's College, Cambridge, died 1725, buried Simonburn.

22 Dec. 1721. WILLIAM CHARLTON OF HESLEYSIDE, esq.



Gold a lion rampant gules.

Son and heir of Edward Charlton and his wife Margaret Salkeld, married Mary Croft, lived later at Dunkirk and died there 1736.

11 Dec. 1722. ROBERT MITFORD OF MITFORD, esq.

Arms as 1640. Son and heir of Robert Mitford (sheriff 1696), married Mary daughter of Sir Richard Osbaldeston, died 1756.

7 Jan. 1724. JOHN COATSWORTH, esq.

Arms as 1718. Brother of William (sheriff 1718), he was of the Hermitage in St. John Lee, master of the ship *Fortune* in 1689, voted for Carrycoats in 1722, married firstly Margaret Wilkinson, secondly Anne Jefferson, died 1726.

10 Dec. 1724. ALEXANDER COLLINGWOOD, esq.

Arms as 1697, with difference. He was of the family of Little Ryle and Unthank, son of Thomas Collingwood, married Dorothy Lawson of Brayton, died 1746.

13 Jan. 1726. CALVERLEY BEWICKE, esq.

Arms as 1637. Younger son of Thomas Bewicke of Close House and his wife Jane Calverley, admitted Merchants' Company of Newcastle 1695, was of Cornhill, London, and later of Close House, died 1729.

1726. ROBERT BEWICKE, esq.

Arms as 1637. Son of Calverley Bewicke (1726), admitted to Merchants' Company 1718, lived at Bishop Middleham and afterwards at Cassop and later at Close House, died 1735.

Nov. 1726. LUKE CLENNELL OF CLENNELL, esq.

Arms as 1704. Son of John Clennell (sheriff 1704), married Sarah Lawson of Brayton, nephew and heir to his uncle Thomas Clennell of Clennell, purchased Harbottle castle 1731, died 1745. (Seal pl. 1, no. 16.)

GEORGE II, 1727-60.

1727. JOHN FENWICK OF BYWELL, esq.

Arms as 1644. Of Stanton and Brinkburn, married Margaret daughter and coheir of William Fenwick of Bywell, to which he succeeded, married secondly Alice Errington of Beaufront; M.P. Northumberland 1741 and 1747, died 1747.

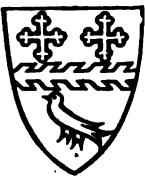
1728. MATTHEW WHITFIELD OF WHITFIELD, esq.

Arms as 1676. Son and heir of Utrecht Whitfield (sheriff 1676), married Elizabeth Eden of West Auckland, died 1761.

1729. FRANCIS BLAKE DELAVAL, esq.

Arms as 1721, quartering silver a chevron between three sheaves sable—Blake. Son of Edward Delaval (sheriff 1721), born 1692, captain R.N., assumed name of Blake and then that of Blake Delaval on succeeding to Seaton Delaval; M.P. 1716, married Rhoda Apreece, died 1752.

14 Dec. 1730. THOMAS WATSON, esq.



Silver a fess raguly between two crosses bottony in chief and a martlet in base, all gules. Son of Robert Watson of Berwick, married Margaret Clerk, mayor of Berwick 1733-38, died 1740.

17 Dec. 1730. THOMAS WATSON the younger, esq.

Arms as above. Probably be the same man and both

should be "the younger"; but if not, then he was son of the above Thomas, born 1701, mayor of Berwick 1727-38; M.P. 1740-66, lived at Grindon Ridge, married Barbara Forster, died 1766.

1731. WALTER BLACKETT *alias* CALVERLEY, esq.

Arms as 1679. Son and heir of Sir Walter Calverley of Calverly, born 1708, took surname of Blackett only in compliance with the will of Sir Wm. Blackett; mayor of Newcastle 1735 and later; M.P. for the town 1734 and for several parliaments to 1774, married Elizabeth Ord, died 1777.

1732. JOHN REED OF BELLINGHAM, esq.

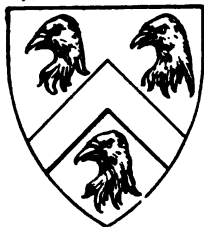
Gold a chevron between three sheaves gules.

Son and heir of Archibald Reed of Bellingham, married Mary Aynesley of Little Harle, purchased Chipchase in 1734, died 1754.

1733. JOHN OGLE OF EGLINGHAM, esq.

Arms as 1654. Second son of Robert Ogle and his wife Dorothy Grey, succeeded to Eglingham estate, married Sarah Bell of Bellassis, died at Bath 1738.

1734. HENRY ELLISON OF PARKHOUSE, esq.



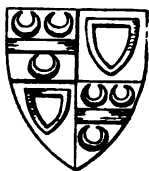
Gules a chevron gold between three eagles' heads rased silver.

Younger son of Robert Ellison of Heburn, born 1700, married Hannah daughter and coheir of William Coatsworth of Gateshead Park, died 1775.

1735-36. HENRY GREY OF HOWICK, esq.

Arms as 1700. Son and heir of John Grey of Howick, born 1691, married Hannah daughter of Thomas Wood of Fallodon, created a baronet 11 Jan. 1746, died 1750.

Jan. 1737. HENRY OGLE OF CAUSEY PARK, esq.



Quarterly I and IV silver a fess between three crescents gules—Ogle, II and III gold an orle azure—Bertram, with due difference.

Son and heir of William Ogle of Causey Park in Bothal parish, born 1685, married Anne Orde, died 1761.

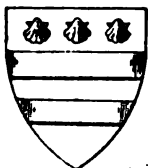
Jan. 1738. JAMES HARGRAVE OF SHAWDON, esq.



Azure a fess silver between three stags at speed silver.

Son and heir of Nathaniel Hargrave, merchant and attorney of Newcastle; born 1688, bought Shawdon 1723, married Priscilla Bonner, died 1777.

Dec. 1738. WILLIAM ERRINGTON OF WALWICK GRANGE, esq.



Silver two bars and in chief three escallops azure, with due difference.

Son and heir of Francis Errington of the same place, married Isabel Bacon of Staward in 1731, died during his shrievalty March 1739.

22 March 1739. JOHN BLACKETT OF WYLAM, esq.

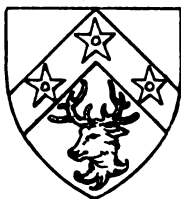
Arms as 1679. Son and heir of John Blackett, born 1712, married firstly Dorothy Grey of Shoreston and secondly Elizabeth Crosbie, died 1769, buried at Ovingham.

Dec. 1739. GEORGE SHAFTO DELAVAL OF BAVINGTON, esq.

Arms as 1721, with due difference.

Younger son of Edward Shafto of Hexham Spital and his wife Mary Delaval of Dissington; born at Halton 1703, succeeded to Little Bavington under the will of his uncle, Admiral Delaval, whose name he adopted; M.P. Northumberland 1757-74, died 1782.

1740. JOHN STROTHER KERR OF FOWBERRY, esq.



Azure on a chevron silver three molets gules in base a stag's head rased silver.

He was the son of Walter Kerr and Mary daughter and heiress of William Strother; born 1704, succeeded to Fowberry 1726, married lady Jean Ramsay, sold Fowberry to Sir Francis Blake 1776.

1741. ANTHONY ISAACSON OF FENTON, esq.



Gold on a pile between two escallops azure, a lion rampant silver.

Younger son of Anthony Isaacson of Newcastle and his wife Jane Lawson, born 1670, bought Fenton in Wooler 1734, collector for the duke of Richmond at Newcastle, married Margaret Creagh of Newcastle, died in London 1746.

1742. CHARLES LORAINÉ OF STANTON, esq.

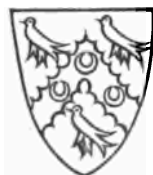
Arms as 1674. Son and heir of Sir Wm. Loraine, bt., of Kirkharle, born 1701, succeeded as second baronet 1743, lived at Kirkley in 1746, married firstly Margaret Lambton of Lambton, secondly Dorothy Millot of Whitehill, died 1755.

Feb. 1744. JAMES CARR OF BLACK HEDDON, esq.

Feb. 1745. WILLIAM BACON OF STAWARD, esq.

Arms as 1692. Second son of John Bacon (sheriff 1692), succeeded his father at Staward, Styford and Newton Cap, married Margaret Forster of Adderstone, died at Newton Cap, buried Auckland South church 1748.

Jan. 1746. JOHN WATSON OF NEWHAM, esq.



Silver on a chevron engrailed sable between three martlets vert three crescents gold.

John Watson merchant of Newcastle and of Goswick, married Elizabeth daughter of John Craster and widow of Christopher Blackett of Newham, in 1743 he is styled of Newham.

Mar. 1746. LANCELOT ALLGOOD, esq.

Arms as 1721. Son and heir of Isaac Allgood (sheriff 1721), born 1711 at Brandon, of Brasenose College, Oxford, admitted Gray's Inn 1733, married Jane daughter and heiress of Robert Allgood and succeeded to Simonburn, Nunwick, etc., M.P. 1748-53, knighted 1760, died 1782.

15 Jan. 1747. WILLIAM ORD OF FENHAM, esq.

Arms as 1638. Second son of Thomas Ord of Newcastle and Fenham, bought Whitfield 1750, married Anne Dillingham, died in London 1768.

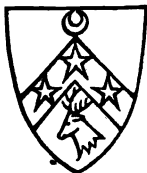
1748. NICHOLAS BROWNE OF BOLTON, esq.

Arms as 1702. Son and heir of Nicholas Browne of Ewart and afterwards of Bolton, born 1703, married Eleanor daughter of Thomas Younghusband of Budle, died at Bath 1762.

1749. GAWEN AYNESLEY the younger, OF LITTLE HARLE, esq.

Arms as 1702. Younger son of Gawen Aynesley of Harnham and Little Harle, born 1710, married Alice Ibbetson of Leeds, died 1792, buried Kirkwhelpington.

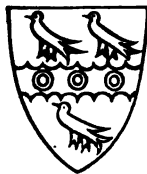
1750. WILLIAM CARR OF ETAL, esq.



Gules on a chevron silver between a crescent in chief silver and a stag's head in base gold. three molets sable.

Son and heir of William Carr of Etal, born 1703, married firstly Isabel Bacon of Styford and secondly Anne widow of Henry Ogle of Causey, died 1777.

1751. WILLIAM BIGGE OF LITTLE BENTON, esq.



Silver on a fess engrailed between three martlets sable, three rings gold.

Son of Thomas Bigge and Elizabeth Hindmarch, one of the six clerks in chancery, born 1707, married Mary daughter and heiress of Charles Clarke of Ovingham, died 1758.

1752. WILLIAM FENWICK, esq.

Arms as 1644. He was of Bywell, son and heir of John Fenwick of Stanton, Brinkburn and Bywell, born 1721, married Margaret Bacon of Staward, died 1782.

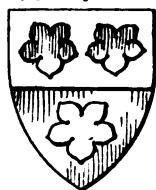
1753. ROBERT FENWICK OF LEMINGTON, esq.

Arms as 1644. with due difference. Son and heir of Nicholas Fenwick of Newcastle and Lemington, who was mayor of Newcastle 1720 and later, M.P. 1727. Robert was born 1716, educated University College, Oxford, member of Merchants' Company of Newcastle 1737, married Isabel Ord, died 1802.

1754. ROBERT SHAFTO OF BENWELL, esq.

Arms as 1646. Son and heir of Robert Shafto (sheriff 1717). He was of Benwell Tower and Wrattling Park, Cambridge, married Camilla daughter and heiress of Thomas Allan of Chester-le-Street, died 1779, buried at West Wrattling.

1755. JOHN SWINBURNE OF WESTGATE, esq.



Party per fess gules and silver, three cinquefoils countercoloured.

Son and heir of Cuthbert Swinburne of Long Witton and Westgate, Newcastle, married Sarah daughter and heiress of Thomas Burdon of Coxhoe, died 1773, buried St. Nicholas.

1756. MATTHEW WHITE OF BLAGDON, esq.

Arms as 1720. Son and heir of Matthew White (sheriff 1720), created baronet 8 May 1756, died at Blagdon 1763, buried in All Saints, Newcastle.

1757. EDWARD BLACKETT OF MATFEN, esq.

Arms as 1679. Son of John Blackett second son of Sir Edward Blackett, succeeded as fourth baronet 1757, to Matfen in right of his wife Anne Douglas of West Matfen, M.P. Northumberland 1768-74, died 1804.

1758. WILLIAM WILKINSON OF CLENNELL, esq.

Arms as 1699. Son of Anthony Wilkinson of Gateshead, married Philadelphia daughter and coheir of Thomas Clennell of Clennell, died 1768, buried St. Andrew's church, Newcastle.

1759. ABRAHAM DIXON OF BELFORD, esq.



Per bend sable and gold on a cross paty throughout between four eagles displayed, four crosses crosslet all countercoloured. Son of Abraham Dixon who bought Belford in 1726, succeeded in 1742, married Anne daughter of John Ord, died 1782.

1760. ROBERT BEWICKE OF CLOSE HOUSE, esq.

Arms as 1637. Son of Robert Bewicke (sheriff 1726), born 1728, admitted to Merchants' Company 1752, knighted 5 Dec. 1760, married Mary Huish of Nottingham, died 1771, buried St. Nicholas.

GEORGE III, 25 OCTOBER 1760-29 JANUARY 1820.

1761. ALEXANDER COLLINGWOOD OF UNTHANK, esq.

Arms as 1697, with due difference. Son and heir of Alexander Collingwood of Little Harle and of Unthank, born 1724, married Margaret Brown of Bolton, died 1795.

1762. RALPH BATES OF HALLIWELL, esq.



Sable a fess engrailed between three dexter hands bendways silver. Son and heir of Ralph Bates of Newbottle and Halliwell, born 1730, admitted Lincoln's Inn 1747, married Anne Ellison of Park House, Gateshead, died 1783, buried St. Andrew's, Newcastle.

1763. JOHN WILLIAM BACON OF STAWARD, esq.

Arms as 1692. Grandson of William Bacon (sheriff 1745) of Staward, Styford and Newton Cap, born 1733, took name of Forster, married Sarah Garth, succeeded to Adderstone 1763, died there 1767, buried Bamburgh.

1764. CHRISTOPHER REED OF CHIPCHASE, esq.

Arms as 1732. Son and heir of Christopher Soulsby and his wife Martha Reed, took the name of Reed on succeeding to Chipchase, married Sarah Blake of Twizell, died 1770.

1765. MATTHEW FORSTER OF BOLTON, esq.

Arms as 1620. Son and heir of Thomas Forster of Lucker and Brunton, married Jane eldest daughter and coheir of Nicholas Brown of Bolton to which place he succeeded, died there 1790.

1766. HENRY COLLINGWOOD OF CORNHILL, esq.

Arms as 1697, with due difference. Son of John Collingwood of Lilburn and Cornhill.

1767. HILTON LAWSON OF CHIRTON, esq.

Arms as 1707. Son and heir of Robert Lawson of Cramlington who had bought Chirton estate, he married Winifred daughter of John Roddam of Roddam, died at Chirton 15 Dec. 1767.

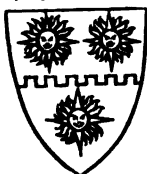
1768. BRYAN BURRELL OF BROOME PARK, esq.



Silver a saltire gules between four leaves vert, on a chief azure a lion's head rased between two battle-axes gold.

Son and heir of William Burrell, vicar of Chatton, who succeeded to Broome Park in 1751; born 1728, matriculated Christ's College, Oxford, 1746, married Mary Partridge of Methwold, died 1806.

1769. MICHAEL PEARSON (OR PIERSON) OF EAST MATFEN, esq.



Per fess embattled azure and gules, three suns gold.

Son of Robert Pearson of Newcastle and East Matfen, born 1706, married firstly Isabel Bowes of Cleadon, secondly Jane widow of John Ormeston, died 1782, buried St. Nicholas.

1770. JOHN SIMPSON OF HORSLEY, esq.

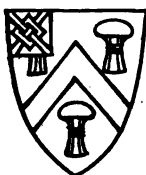


Gules a fess between two lions passant gold. Probably John Simpson of Bradley who died 1786. In 1790 John Simpson, esq., "of Trinity College, Cambridge," held land at Horsley on the Hill. The sheriff served in respect of his lands at Horsley.

1771. THOMAS CHARLES BIGGE OF LITTLE BENTON, esq.

Arms as 1751. Son and heir of William Bigge (sheriff 1751), born 1739, married Jemima Ord of Fenham, died at Bath 1794, buried at Weston.

1772. FRANCIS BLAKE OF CRAWLEY, esq.



Silver a chevron between three garbs sable on a canton azure a fret gold.

Son and heir of Robert Blake of Twizell, created a baronet 1774, purchased Crawley from Alexander Collingwood, married Isabel daughter and coheir of Samuel Ayton of West

Herrington, died at Tillmouth 1780, buried at Houghton-le-Spring.

1773. WILLIAM LOWES OF RIDLEY HALL, esq.



Gules a wolf passant silver.

Son of John Lowes of Ridley Hall, born 1711, attorney in Newcastle, married Margaret Marley of Pelton, succeeded to Ridley Hall, died 1783, buried Beltingham.

1774. SIR WILLIAM LORAINÉ OF KIRKHARLE, bt.

Arms as 1674. Son and heir of Sir Charles Lorainé (sheriff 1742), succeeded as third baronet 1755, married Frances Campart of Kensington Gore, died 1809, buried at Kirkharle.

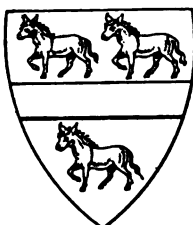
1775. WALTER TREVELYAN OF NETHERWITTON, esq.



Gules a demi horse silver armed and maned gold rising out a base wavy azure and silver, with due difference.

Second son of Sir George Trevelyan of Nettlecombe, Somerset, married firstly Margaret daughter and heiress of James Thornton of Netherwitton, secondly Margaret Hitchin of Penzance.

1776. JOHN ASKEW OF PALLINSBURN, esq.



Sable a fess gold between three asses passant silver.

He was the fourth son of Adam Askew of Newcastle, M.P.; born 1732, married Bridget daughter of Thomas Watson of Berwick, died 1794.

1777. WILLIAM ORD OF FENHAM, esq.

Arms as 1638. Son and heir of William (sheriff 1747), married Eleanor daughter of Charles Brandling, died 1789.

1778. THOMAS CARR OF ESHOT, esq.

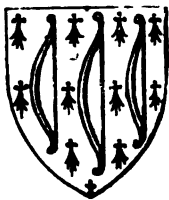
Arms as 1709. Son of Mark Carr of Eshot, born 1734, admitted to Merchants' Company 1776, succeeded his brother at Eshot c. 1770, sold Eshot 1792, died 1793.

1779. DANIEL CRASTER OF CRASTER, esq.

Arms as 1681. Son and heir of Daniel and his wife Mary Proctor of Dunston Steads, born 1723, succeeded

to Craster 1777, married Anne Coulter of Newcastle, died 1784.

1780. ANDREW ROBINSON BOWES OF BENWELL, esq.



Ermine three long-bows paleways gules.

Andrew Robinson Stoney of Coldpig Hill, Durham, married Mary daughter and heiress of George Bowes of Streatlam and Gibside and widow of John Lyon, ninth earl of Strathmore, he took the name of Bowes after this marriage in 1777; M.P. for Newcastle 1780, purchased Benwell from the Shaftos c. 1780, died 1810.

1781. CHARLES BRANDLING OF GOSFORTH HOUSE, esq.

Arms as 1617. Son and heir of Ralph Brandling of Felling, built Gosforth House 1760, married Elizabeth Thompson; M.P. for Newcastle 1784-96, died 1802.

1782. CALVERLEY BEWICKE OF CLOSE HOUSE, esq.

Arms as 1637. Younger son of Robert Bewicke (sheriff 1760), succeeded his elder brother Robert 1800, married firstly Déborah Wilkinson of Brancepeth, secondly Margaret Spearman of Oldacres; M.P. Winchelsea, died 1815.

1783. WILLIAM HARGRAVE OF SHAWDON, esq.

Arms as 1738. Son and heir of James Hargrave, married Catherine daughter and coheir of Samuel Shield of Newcastle, educated St. John's College, Cambridge, died 1817.

1784. SIR FRANCIS BLAKE OF FOWBERRY, bt.

Arms as 1772. Son and heir of Sir Francis Blake (sheriff 1772), married Elizabeth Douglas, second baronet of Twizell, purchased Fowberry from the Strother heiress 1776 and rebuilt the house there, succeeded to Twizell 1780, died 1818.

1785. SIR HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL, bt. (OF ESLINGTON).



Silver fretty gules on a chief gules three leopards' faces gold.

Son of Thomas Liddell and nephew of Henry lord Ravensworth and fourth baronet, whom he succeeded in the baronetcy; he was born 1749, married Elizabeth Steele, died 1791.

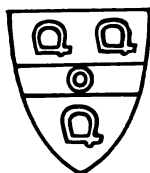
1786. JAMES ALLGOOD OF NUNWICK, esq.

Arms as 1721. Son and heir of Lancelot Allgood (sheriff 1746), born 1746, educated Brasenose College, married Martha Reed of Chipchase, died 1807.

1787. EDWARD COLLINGWOOD OF CHIRTON, esq.

Arms as 1697. Son and heir of Edward Collingwood of Byker and Dissington, recorder of Newcastle, and his wife Mary Roddam; born 1734, admitted Lincoln's Inn 1755, succeeded to Chirton, Dissington, etc., 1783, died 1806.

1788. DAVIDSON RICHARD GRIEVE OF SWARLAND, esq.



Gules on a fess gold between three fetterlocks silver, an annulet azure.

Son and heir of Richard Grieve of Swansfield, Alnwick, who purchased Swarland; born 1741, admitted Gray's Inn 1758, married Isabella Botterell, died in Soho, London, 1793.

1789. ROBERT LISLE OF ACTON, esq.



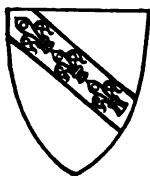
Ermine a lion rampant azure (with due difference).

Son and heir of John Lisle of Newcastle, born at Newcastle, heir to Welton and Acton by will of Robert Lisle of Welton, etc., married Anne Fenwick of Lemington, died 1800.

1790. JOHN LOWES OF RIDLEY HALL, esq.

Arms as 1773. Son and heir of William Lowes (sheriff 1773), married Helen Stott of Minnagaff, died 1795.

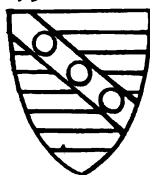
1791. JOHN WOOD OF BEADNELL, esq.



Azure on a bend silver three fleurs-de-lis sable, each charged with three bezants.

Son of Thomas Wood of Beadnell, born 1742, married Anne daughter of Daniel Craster 1781, died 1828.

1792. RALPH WILLIAM GREY OF BACKWORTH, esq.



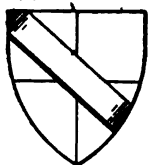
Barry silver and azure on a bend gules three bezants.

Son and heir of Ralph William Grey of Newcastle and Backworth, admitted to Merchants' Company 1768, married Elizabeth Brandling of Gosforth 1777, died 1812.

1793. HENRY COLLINGWOOD OF LILBURN, esq.

Arms as 1697. Son and heir of John Collingwood of Cornhill, succeeded to West Lilburn under the will of his uncle Percival Clennell, born 1757, died 1827.

1794. CHARLES JOHN CLAVERING OF BITCHFIELD, esq.



Quarterly gold and gules a bend sable, with difference.

Son of Sir John Clavering, K.B., was usually styled of Ridlamhope; he succeeded to Bitchfield on the death of his grandfather Sir James Clavering of Axwell, married Diana Adair.

He was sheriff of Durham for several years, sold Bitchfield in 1802 to Sir Charles Monck, died at Axwell Park 1838.

1795. CUTHBERT SHAFTO OF BAVINGTON, esq.

Arms as 1646. Nephew of Robert Shafto of Bavington, born 1736, knighted 9 Dec. 1795 at St. James's, died 1812.

1796. ADAM MANSFELDT LAWSON DE CARDONNELL OF CHIRTON, esq.

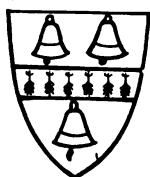


Silver two chevrons between three trefoils vert. (Granted 1773.)

Son of Mansfeldt Cardonnell of North Shields; medical doctor in Edinburgh, F.S.A. Scot. and curator of museum, succeeded to

Chirton under will of Hilton Lawson of Chirton, died 1820.

1797. MATTHEW BELL OF WOOLSINGTON, esq.



Sable a fess ermine between three bells silver. Son and heir of Matthew, merchant of Newcastle and Woolsington; born 1768, matriculated Oriel College 1785, married Sarah Brandling of Gosforth, died 1811.

1798. ADAM ASKEW OF ELLINGTON, esq.

Arms as 1776. Son of Anthony Askew, he was of Redheugh, Durham, and of Wimpole Street, London; married Amy Carey of London, sheriff of Durham 1809. His grandfather Adam Askew, M.D., of Newcastle, purchased lands in Ellington 1750. (Seal pl. 1, no. 17.)

1799. SIR JOHN EDWARD SWINBURNE OF CAPHEATON, bt.

Arms as 1755. Sixth baronet, son and heir of Sir Edward Swinburne, born 1762, married Emilia Bennet of Beckenham, M.P. Launceston 1788, F.R.S., F.S.A., died 1860.

1800.* GEORGE ADAM ASKEW OF PALLINSBURN, esq.

Arms as 1776. Son and heir of John (sheriff 1776), born 1771, married his cousin Anne Elizabeth Askew, died 1838.

* It has not been found possible to illustrate by line blocks armorials after this date.

1801. SIR CHARLES MILES LAMBERT MONCK OF BELSAY CASTLE, bt.

Silver a chevron checky gold and sable between three leopards' heads rased azure collared gold.

Son and heir of Sir William Middleton, born 1779, took the name and arms of Monck in accordance with the will of his maternal grandfather Lawrence Monck, married Louisa Cooke of Wheatley, M.P. Northumberland 1812-20, died 1867. (Seal pl. I, no. 18.)

1802. CHARLES WILLIAM BIGGE OF BENTON HOUSE, esq.

Arms as 1751. Son and heir of Thomas Charles Bigge (sheriff 1771), married Alice Wilkinson of Newcastle, died at Linden 1849.

1803. SHAFTO CRASTER OF CRASTER, esq.

Arms as 1681. Son and heir of Daniel Craster (sheriff 1779), born 1755, married Isabella daughter of Charles Atkinson, mayor of Newcastle in 1775 and 1783; died 1837. (Seal pl. I, no. 22.)

1804. SIR THOMAS HENRY LIDDELL OF ESLINGTON, bt.

Arms as 1785. Son and heir of Sir Henry George Liddell (sheriff 1785), born 1755, married Maria Simpson of Bradley, created baron Ravensworth 1821, died 1855.

1805. JOHN HUNTER OF THE HERMITAGE, esq.

Gules on a fess gold between three stags' heads rased gold three hunting horns sable.

Son and heir of John Hunter of Medomsley, purchased the mansion house of the Hermitage, near Hexham, married Elizabeth Bunting of York, died 1821.

1806. WILLIAM LINSKILL OF TYNMOUTH LODGE, esq.

Gold a double-headed eagle displayed purpure, armed gules, a chief wavy silver and azure.

Son of William Linskill of Whitby and North Shields, born 1766, married Elizabeth Grey of Backworth, built

Tynmouth Lodge c. 1790, died at Humberstone, Leicester, 1845.

1807. SIR WILLIAM BLACKETT OF MATFEN, bt.

Arms as 1679. Son of Sir Edward Blackett, born 1758, succeeded as fourth baronet 1804, married Anne Keene of Westoe, died 1816.

1808. CUTHBERT ELLISON OF BROOMHOUSE, esq.

Arms as 1734. Son of Henry Ellison of Hebburn, born 1782, married Isabella Grace Ibbetson of St. Anthony's; J.P., D.L., M.P., Newcastle, died 1866.

1809. WILLIAM SADLIER BRUERE OF BEWICK, esq.

Vert two bends wavy ermine on a canton gold five roundels gules.

Purchased Bewick in 1804 from John Dinning, his son sold the estate in 1829 to Addison John Baker of Cresswell; nothing further has been found about him.

1810. JOHN REED OF CHIPCHASE, esq.

Arms as 1732. Son of Christopher Reed (or Soulsby, sheriff 1764), born 1759, married Mary Nevill of Kingston upon Hull, became bankrupt and sold Chipchase in 1823, distributor of stamps for Newcastle district, died at Felton 1842.

1811. WILLIAM BURRELL OF BROOME PARK, esq.

Arms as 1768. Son and heir of Bryan Burrell (sheriff 1768), born 1773, educated University College, Oxford, married Eleanor Forster of Bolton, F.S.A., J.P., D.L., succeeded to estates 1806, died 1847.

1812. RALPH BATES OF MILBOURNE HALL, esq.

Arms as 1762. Son and heir of Ralph Bates (sheriff 1762), born 1764, colonel of 6th Dragoons, J.P., D.L., married Sarah Ellison, died 1813. (Seal pl. I, no. 19.)

1813. JOHN CARR OF HEDGELEY, esq.

Gules on a chevron silver three stars sable a border invected silver.

Son and heir of Ralph Carr of Dunston Hill, who purchased the estate of Hedgeley in 1786. He married Hannah Ellison of Hebburn, J.P. for Northumberland and Durham, died 1817.

1814. SIR CHARLES LORAINÉ OF KIRKHARLE, bt.

Arms as 1674: Son and heir of Sir William Loraine, born 1779, married Elizabeth Campart of St. Marylebone, London, J.P., D.L., died 1833. (Seal pl. I, no. 20.)

1815. GEORGE BAKER OF STANTON, esq.

Silver on a saltire azure five escallops silver, on a chief azure a lion passant silver.

Son of George Baker of Elemore Hall, Durham, and owner of the township of Stanton in Long Horsley; married Elizabeth Dalton of Sleningford, Yorks., died leaving an only daughter and heiress.

1816. MATTHEW BELL OF WOOLSINGTON, esq.

Arms as 1797, quartering Brandling. Son of Matthew Bell, born 1793, married Elizabeth Reay of Killingworth, admitted to Merchants' Co. of Newcastle 1816, M.P. Northumberland 1826-52, died 1871. (Seal pl. I, no. 21, banner pl. II.)

1817. SIR THOMAS CLAVERING OF HARWOOD SHEELS, bt.

Arms as 1794. He was of Axwell Park, Durham Co., eldest son of George Clavering of Greencroft, succeeded his uncle as eighth baronet in 1794, married 1791 Clara daughter of Jean de Callais of Anjou, died at Clifton 1833. Harwood is in Hartburn parish.

1818. ROBERT LANCELOT ALLGOOD OF NUNWICK, esq.

Arms as 1721. Son of James Allgood, born 1794, of Christ's College, Cambridge, married 1820 Elizabeth Hunter of the Hermitage, Hexham, died at Brighton 1854.

1819. WILLIAM ORDE OF NUNNYKIRK, esq.

Arms as 1638. Son and heir of William Orde of Morpeth and his wife Anne Ward, heiress of William Ward of Nunnykirk; succeeded his father 1814 and died unmarried 1843.

GEORGE IV, 1820-30.

1820. WILLIAM CLARKE OF BENTON HOUSE, esq.

Ermine on a chevron embattled, counter-embattled between three dragons' heads rased azure, a chaplet between two roses gold.

He was lord of the manor of Belford, which he had purchased earlier in the century; he occupied Benton House, then the property of Mr. Dixon-Dixon; born c. 1770, died 1842.

1821. ADDISON JOHN CRESSWELL-BAKER OF CRESSWELL, esq.

Quarterly I and IV erminois three roundels gules each charged with a sitting squirrel silver—Cresswell, II and III gules a goat standing between three saltires gold—Baker; in pretence I and IV Baker, II and III azure two chevrons silver between two sheaves in chief gold and in base two swords saltireways gold—Reed.

Son and heir of Francis Easterly of Blackheath and his wife Frances Cresswell coheir of her father John Cresswell; he took the name and arms of Cresswell. Addison John took the additional name of Baker upon his wife succeeding to the Baker estates; she was Elizabeth Reed of Campion Hill, Surrey. He built the mansion of Cresswell Hall in 1821. He was born 1788. M.P. for North Northumberland, died 1879.

1822. EDMUND CRASTER OF PRESTON, esq.

Arms as 1681. Son of Daniel Craster (sheriff 1779), born 1762, married Phillis Buston of High Buston, bought Preston 1805, died s.p. 1824.

1823. PRIDEAUX JOHN SELBY OF TWIZELL HOUSE, esq.

Barry of gold and sable.

Son and heir of George Selby, who bought Twizell House in Bamburgh parish in 1789. He was born at Alnwick, educated at Durham school and Oxford, married — Mitford of Mitford, was a celebrated ornithologist, died 1867.

1824. EDWARD COLLINGWOOD OF DISSINGTON HALL, esq.

Arms as 1697. Edward Spencer Stanhope, who assumed the name and arms of Collingwood on succeeding to Dissington 1816. He was born 1791, educated Oxford, married Arabella Calcroft, died 1866. (Seal pl. 1, no. 23.)

1825. ANTHONY GREGSON OF BOWSDEN, esq.

Silver a saltire gules a canton checky gold and azure.

Son of Anthony Gregson of Lowlynn and his wife Elizabeth Kerr, born 1780, unmarried, died 1833.

1826. WILLIAM PAWSON OF SHAWDON, esq.

I and IV, quarterly indented azure and gules on a fess silver between three stags at speed gold, three mascles azure between four ermine spots—Hargrave; II and III ermine two chevrons between three lions' jamps rased and erect gold—Pawson.

Brother and heir of John Pawson of Shawdon and Tillington, born 1780, married Mary Trotter of Morpeth, succeeded his brother 1817, officer in the Royal Navy, died in Edinburgh 1854. (Seal pl. 1, no. 24.)

1827. DIXON-DIXON OF LONG BENTON, esq.

I and IV per bend sable and gold on a cross paty throughout, between four eagles displayed, four crosses crosslet all countercoloured—Dixon; II and III per pale sable and gules on a bend engrailed, between two cotises and two escallops gold, three lions passant guardant sable—Brown.

Son of Dixon Brown of Unthank and Benton, assumed

the name of Dixon-Dixon in 1825, married Elizabeth Smith of Togston, D.L. for Northumberland and major of volunteer cavalry, sheriff of Newcastle 1802.

1828. CHARLES BOSANQUET OF ROCK, esq.

Gold on a mount vert a tree proper on a chief gules a crescent between two molets silver.

Second son of Samuel Bosanquet of Forest House, Essex; born 1769, married Charlotte daughter of Peter Holford, whose son Robert Holford transferred Rock to Charles Bosanquet, died 1850.

1829. SANDERSON ILDERTON OF ILDERTON, esq.

Silver three bougets sable.

Son and heir of Charles Ilderton, attorney of Newcastle and of Ilderton; born 1776, married Anne Harrison of Newcastle, died 1853.

WILLIAM IV, 1830-37.

1830. SIR JOHN TREVELYAN OF WALLINGTON, bt.

Arms as 1775. Son and heir of Sir John Trevelyan, fourth baronet of Nettlecombe, born 1761, married Maria Spencer Wilson, died 1846.

1831. GEORGE SILVERTOP OF MINSTERACRES, esq.

Silver on a fess gules, between three hand-grenades sable, fired proper, a roundel silver. (Grant 1758.)

Son and heir of John Silvertop, born at Benwell 1774, educated at Douay, died unmarried 1849.

1832. HENRY JOHN WILLIAM COLLINGWOOD OF LILBURN TOWER, esq.

Arms as 1697. Son of Henry Collingwood of West Lilburn, born 1802, succeeded to Lilburn 1827, rebuilt Lilburn Tower, died 1840.

1833. SIR EDWARD BLACKETT OF MATFEN, bt.

Arms as 1679. Son and heir of Sir William Blackett,

born 1805, married firstly Julia Monck of Belsay and secondly Frances widow of William Ord and daughter of Sir William Loraine, died 1885.

1834. WILLIAM RODDAM OF RODDAM, esq.

Gules on a bend ermine three cinquefoils sable.

Son of Walter Spencer Stanhope of Cannon Hall, Yorks. He succeeded to Roddam under the will of his kinsman and godfather Admiral Robert Roddam. He was born 1793, succeeded to Roddam 1806 when he took the name and arms of Roddam, died without heirs male 1864.

1835. BERTRAM OSBALDESTON MITFORD OF MITFORD, esq.

Arms as 1640. Son and heir of Bertram Mitford, whom he succeeded in 1800. He was born 1777, married Frances Mitford of Exbury, took the additional surname of Osbaldeston upon succeeding to the Osbaldeston estates in Yorks. in 1835, died 1842.

1836. THOMAS RIDDELL OF FELTON PARK, esq.

Silver a fess between three sheaves azure.

Son and heir of Ralph Riddell of Swinburne castle and Felton Park, born 1802, married firstly Mary Throckmorton and secondly Laura Trafford, died 1870.

VICTORIA, 1837-1901.

1837. WILLIAM JOHN CHARLTON OF HESLEYSIDE, esq.

Gold a lion rampant gules, a chief ermine fretty vert, on a canton sable a lion rampant gold (grant to him).

Son and heir of William Charlton, born 1782, married Catherine Cholmeley of Brandsby, died 1846.

1838. ISAAC COOKSON OF MELDON PARK, esq.

Party silver and gules two armed legs couped at the thigh in armour countercoloured.

Younger son of Isaac Cookson of Whitehill, Co. Durham; born 1776, married Jane Cooke of Togston; J.P., died 1851. (Seal pl. 1, no. 25.)

1839. JOHN DAVIDSON OF RIDLEY HALL, esq.

Silver a buck couchant gules on a hill vert. (?)

Son and heir of John Davidson, clerk of the peace for Northumberland, born 1797, married Susan Jessop at Gibside in 1824, purchased Ridley Hall 1830.

1840. WILLIAM LAWSON OF LONGHIRST, esq.

Silver a chevron between three martlets sable.

Son of William Lawson of Longhirst, born 1822, J.P. and D.L. Northumberland, died unmarried 1859.

1841. SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY OF BLAGDON, bt.

I and IV gules on a chevron between three hawks silver, three roundels sable—Ridley, II and III silver three cocks' heads rased sable—White.

Fourth baronet, born 1807, educated Christ Church, Oxford, married Hon. Cecilia Parke daughter of Lord Wensleydale; M.P. North Northumberland 1859/68, died 1877.

1842. EDWARD RIDDELL OF CHEESBURN GRANGE, esq.

Arms as 1836. Son and heir of Ralph Riddell of the same place, born 1807, married, 1857, Adela Scrope of Danby Hall, Yorks., J.P., died 1871.

1843. THOMAS ANDERSON OF LITTLE HARLE TOWER, esq.

Gules three martlets fessways gold between three trees silver.

Cousin and heir of George Anderson of Newcastle, he sold Anderson Place to Richard Grainger and purchased Little Harle; married Emily Fisher of Favendon, Bucks., J.P. and D.L., died 1877.

1844. EDWARD JOHN COLLINGWOOD OF LILBURN TOWER, esq.

Arms as 1697. Son and heir of John Collingwood, customer of Newcastle, who succeeded to Chirton on the death of his brother Admiral lord Collingwood; born at Chirton 1815, married Anne Burdett, J.P. and D.L., died 1895 at Lilburn Tower.

1845. RALPH CARR OF HEDGELEY, esq.
Arms as 1813. Son of John Carr of the same place (sheriff 1813), born 1805, succeeded his father 1827, married Elizabeth Werge in 1871, assumed the additional surname of Ellison, died 1884.
1846. CHARLES WILLIAM ORDE OF NUNNYKIRK, esq.
Arms as 1638. Nephew and heir of William Orde whom he succeeded in 1843, born 1810, married Frances Jackson of Newton Bank, Cheshire, J.P. and D.L., died 1875.
1847. JAMES HENRY HOLLES ATKINSON OF ANGERTON, esq.
Ermine on a fess doubly cotised gules, between three pheons azure, a lion passant between two roses silver. Son and heir of Sir Thomas Bradford of Woodlands, Doncaster; assumed the name of Atkinson upon succeeding his great-uncle at Angerton in 1827; born 1819, married Anne Ellice, died 1871.
1848. GEORGE BURDON OF HEDDON HOUSE, esq.
I have not been able to trace this man.
1849. JOHN HODGSON-HINDE OF ELSWICK, esq.
Per chevron embattled gold and azure three martlets countercoloured.
Son of John Hodgson, assumed the additional surname of Hinde in 1836; born 1806, educated Durham School and Trinity College, Cambridge, married 1833 Isabella Compton of Carham, M.P. Newcastle, J.P. and D.L. 1836-47, wrote introductory volume of John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, died 1869.
1850. SIR WALTER CALVERLEY TREVELYAN OF WALLINGTON, bt.
Arms as 1775. Sixth baronet of Nettlecombe, Somerset, born 1797, succeeded to Wallington 1846, married first Paulina Jermyn, second Laura Capel Loft; J.P., D.L., a noted antiquary and historian, F.G.S., F.S.A., and V.P. of Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, died 1879.

1851. SIR HORACE ST. PAUL OF EWART PARK, bt.

Quarterly I and VI silver an eagle displayed sable, II and V tierced I azure three lions rampant gold, 2 azure a lion rampant silver, 3 gules on a cross silver nine billets sable, III and IV per pale gold and sable a bend engrailed countercoloured, in pretence silver a double-tailed lion rampant gules crowned gold.

Second baronet, born 1812, educated Christ Church, Oxford, M.P. Worcestershire, succeeded to Ewart 1840; Count of Holy Roman Empire, settled at Ewart 1867; J.P. and D.L., married Jane Grey of Millfield, died 1891.

1852. THOMAS WOOD CRASTER OF CRASTER, esq.

Quarterly I and IV quarterly gold and gules a crow in the quarter—Craster, II and III azure on a bend silver three fleurs-de-lis sable each charged with three bezants—Wood.

Son and heir of John Wood of Beadnell and of his wife Anne Craster, born 1786, succeeded to Craster estates 1837, grant of arms and licensed to use the surname of Craster in addition to Wood, 1838, married Margaret Longfield, died 1867.

1853. WALTER SELBY OF BIDDLESTON, esq.

Arms as 1823. Son and heir of Walter Selby whom he succeeded in 1833, born 1822, married Laura Tempest of Broughton, J.P. and D.L., died 1868.

1854. SAMUEL EDWARD WIDDRINGTON OF NEWTON HALL, R.N.

Quarterly silver and gules a bend sable.

Son and heir of rev. Joseph Cook of Newton and of his wife Sarah Brown of Broomhill, daughter and heiress of Edward Brown by his wife Frances Widdrington of Hauxley. He took the name of Widdrington by licence, 1840, married Dorothy Davison of Swarland, captain R.N.; F.R.S., died 1856.

1855. ROWLAND ERRINGTON OF SANDHOE, esq.

Quarterly I and IV silver two bars and in chief three escallops azure—Errington, II and III silver on a bend azure three stags' heads cabossed gold.—Stanley.

Second son of Sir Thos. Stanley, bt., of Hooton, Cheshire; born 1809, succeeded in 1820 to the estates of his great-uncle Henry Errington, assumed the name of Errington, succeeded his brother as eleventh baronet 1863, married Julia Macdonald, died 1875.

1856. BRIAN BURRELL OF BROOME PARK, esq.

Arms as 1768. Son and heir of William Burrell (sheriff 1811), born 1805, of Christ Church, Oxford, 1824, captain Irish Dragoon Guards, married Frances Quantock, died 1881.

1857. WILLIAM HENRY CHARLTON OF HESLEYSIDE, esq.

Arms as 1837. Son and heir of William John Charlton (sheriff 1837), born 1810, married Barbara daughter of Michael Anne, J.P. and D.L., died 1880.

1858. LANCELOT JOHN HUNTER ALLGOOD OF NUNWICK, esq.

Arms as 1721. Son and heir of Robert Lancelot Allgood (sheriff 1818) by his second wife Elizabeth Hunter, born 1823, lieutenant in Light Dragoons, married Louisa daughter of Sir Thos. Hill; J.P., died 1885.

1859. HENRY CHARLES SILVERTOP OF MINSTERACRES, esq.

Arms as 1831. Son and heir of Henry Englefield, born 1826, assumed the name and arms of Silvertop upon succeeding to the estates of his great-uncle George Silvertop of Minsteracres, married firstly Hon. Eliza Stonor, secondly Caroline Weld, J.P. and D.L., died 1887.

1860. WILLIAM CUTHBERT OF BEAUFONT, esq.

Silver on a fess gules between in chief two hawks sable and in base a cross-crosslet fitchy gules, a hawk between two crosses-crosslet fitchy silver.

Son and heir of William Cuthbert of Beaufront, born 1813, married Mary Cookson, J.P. and D.L., died 1878.

1861. WILLIAM JOHN PAWSON OF SHAWDON, esq.

Arms as 1826. Son and heir of William Pawson (sheriff 1826), who had adopted the additional name of Hargrave. He was born 1817, succeeded to Shawdon 1854, married Frances Fife, died 1890.

1862. JOHN COOKSON OF MELDON PARK, esq.

Arms as 1838. Son and heir of Isaac Cookson (sheriff 1838), born 1808, married 1837 Sarah White-Ridley, J.P. and D.L., died 1892.

1863. WATSON ASKEW OF PALLINSBURN, esq.

I and IV gules three wolves' heads rased silver armed azure, a border silver—Robertson, II and III sable a fess gold between three asses passant silver—Askew. Son of Christopher Crackenthorp Askew, born 1834, educated Eton and Christ Church, married Hon. Sarah Robertson of Ladykirk, J.P. and D.L. for Northumberland and Berwickshire, vice-chairman C.C., assumed additional name of Robertson 1890, died 1906.

1864. HENRY METCALFE AMES OF LINDEN, esq.

Silver on a bend cotised, between two annulets sable, a quatrefoil between two roses silver—Ames, quartering Poole and Metcalfe.

Second son of Levi Ames of the Hyde, Bedford; born 1820, married Elizabeth Cadogan of Brinkburn, J.P. and D.L., died 1874.

1865. JOHN ERRINGTON OF HIGH WARDEN, esq.

Silver two bars and in chief three escallops azure.

Second son of William Errington, born 1807, married firstly Anne Eyre and secondly Caroline Waddilove, J.P. and D.L., died 1878.

1866. SIR JOHN SWINBURNE OF CAPHEATON, bt.

Arms as 1755. Seventh baronet, born 1831, married first Emily Broadhead, second Mary Corbett, third Florence Moffat; captain R.N., J.P. and D.L., died 1914.

1867. GEORGE CULLEY OF FOWBERRY TOWER, esq.

Per pale indented azure and sable, on a chevron engrailed ermine, between three talbots' heads rased gold, three roses gules.

Son and heir of George Darling of Fowberry, assumed the name of Culley, born 1834, married Jane Woodcock, commissioner of woods and forests, C.B., J.P., died 1893.

1868. JOHN BLENKINSOPP COULSON OF BLENKINSOPP CASTLE, esq.

Quarterly I and IV silver on a bend gules three fleurs-de-lis silver—Coulson, II and III silver a fess between three sheaves sable—Blenkinsopp.

Son and heir of colonel J. B. Coulson, born 1799, married first Juliana Dawkins, second Hon. Mary Anson, captain Grenadier Guards, J.P., D.L., died 12 June 1868.

1869. MATTHEW TEWART CULLEY OF COUPLAND CASTLE, esq.

Arms as 1867. Son and heir of Matthew Culley of Coupland, born 1832, married Hariette Knight, M.A., J.P., died 1889.

1870. HENRY GREGSON OF LOWLYNN, esq.

Arms as 1825. Son of the rev. Henry Knight, rector of Ford and cousin and heir of John Gregson of Lowlynn, assumed the name of Gregson, born 1821, married Eliza Selby, J.P. and D.L.

1871. JOHN GEORGE FREDERICK HOPE-WALLACE OF FEATHERSTONE CASTLE, esq.

Quarterly I and IV gules a lion rampant, in chief two

crosses patonce silver, a border invected compony ermine and azure, in centre a cross paty silver—Wallace, II and III azure on a chevron gold between three bezants, a bay leaf vert—Hope.

Son and heir of the Hon. James Hope, who assumed the additional name and arms of Wallace of Knaresdale; born 1839, married Mary Frances Bethune, J.P. Northumberland, died 1900.

1872. RODDAM JOHN RODDAM OF RODDAM, esq.

Arms as 1834. Son of Joseph Falder, he assumed name and arms of Roddam upon succeeding to the estates in 1864; born 1800, married Hannah Laing, died 1881.

1873. SIR WILLIAM GEORGE ARMSTRONG OF CRAGSIDE, knt.

Gules a tilting spear fessways gold, silver head, between two dexter arms embowed in armour couped at the shoulders, hands proper.

Son of alderman William Armstrong of Newcastle, born 1810, married Margaret Ramshaw, founder of Armstrong's works, Elswick, knighted 1859, M.P. Newcastle; D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., etc., created baron Armstrong of Cragside and Jesmond 1887, died *s.p.* 1900.

1874. SHALCROSS FITZHERBERT WIDDRINGTON OF NEWTON HALL, esq.

Quarterly silver and gules a bend sable.

Third son of captain Shalcross Jacson, succeeded to his maternal uncle's estates in 1856 and took the name of Widdrington, married Cicilia Hopwood, major in Northumberland militia, J.P., died 1917.

1875. JOHN TOWLERTON LEATHER OF MIDDLETON HALL, esq.

Silver on a bend sable cotised compony gold and sable, a fountain between two molets gold.

Son and heir of James Leather of Beeston Park, Leeds; born 1804, married first Maria Leather and second Harriet Spencer Page, J.P. and D.L. Northumberland, F.S.A. London, died 1885.

1876. CALVERLEY BEWICKE OF CLOSE HOUSE, esq.

Arms as 1637. Son and heir of Calverley Bewicke Anderson, who in 1815 assumed the surname of Bewicke; born 1817, married Jane Torrens; J.P., D.L. Northumberland, died 1876.

1877. RICHARD HODGSON HUNTLEY OF CARHAM HALL, esq.

Silver on a chevron between three stags' heads rased sable three bugle horns silver.

Younger son of John Hodgson of Elswick by his wife Sarah Huntley, born 1812, married Catherine coheir of Anthony Compton of Carham Hall, assumed in 1870 the surname and arms of Huntley, M.P. for Berwick and for Tynmouth, J.P. and D.L., died 1879.

1878. JOHN PHILIP OSBALDESTON MITFORD OF MITFORD CASTLE, esq.

Arms as 1640. Born 1809, married in 1844 his cousin Fanny Mitford, succeeded to estates upon the death of his cousin Bertram Osbaldeston Mitford (sheriff 1835), colonel in the army, J.P. and D.L., died 1895.

1879. JOHN CRASTER OF CRASTER TOWER, esq.

Arms as 1852. Son and heir of Thomas Craster (sheriff 1852), born 1823, of St. John's College, Oxford, 1841, of Inner Temple 1845, married, 1858, Charlotte Pulleine Roddam; J.P. and D.L., died 1895.

1880. CADOGAN HODGSON CADOGAN OF BRINKBURN PRIORY, esq.

Gules a lion rampant looking backwards, gold, with due difference.

Son and heir of William Hodgson, by his wife Sarah Cadogan, who in 1833 assumed the name and arms of Cadogan; born 1826, of Merton College 1844, married Isabel Mary Smith; J.P., died 1888.

1881. JOHN GIFFARD RIDDELL OF SWINBURNE CASTLE, esq.

Arms as 1836. Younger son of Thomas Riddell of

Felton Park and Swinburne, born 1830, succeeded his elder brother 1867, married first Mary Sapelier, second Victoria Purcell; J.P., died 1901.

1882. OSWIN CUMMING BAKER-CRESSWELL OF CRESSWELL, esq.
Arms as 1821. Son of Oswin Addison Baker-Cresswell of Harehope and grandson of Addison John, whom he succeeded in 1879; born 1844, married Emma Denman, major Northumberland Fusiliers, J.P., died 1886.

1883. GEORGE DIXON ATKINSON-CLARK OF BELFORD HALL, esq.
Ermine on a chevron embattled counter-embattled, between two dragons' heads rased azure a chaplet between two roses gules.

Son of rev. Wm. Atkinson, vicar of Gateshead Fell, and his wife Jane, heir of her brother rev. John Dixon-Clark of Belford Hall, who took the additional name of Clark upon his marriage. His son (the sheriff) was born 1836, of Charterhouse and University College, Oxford, barrister at law, married Mary Caroline Coventry; M.A., J.P., D.L., succeeded to the Belford estates in 1880, died 1921.

1884. SIR ARTHUR EDWARD MIDDLETON OF BELSAY CASTLE, bt.
Quarterly gules and gold a cross patonce silver in the quarter.

Seventh baronet, born 1838, of Trinity College, Cambridge, married Lady Constance Amherst, resumed the name of Middleton in 1876, M.P. Durham 1874-80, succeeded his grandfather at Belsay 1867, J.P., died 1933.

1885. WALTER CHARLES SELBY OF BIDDLESTON, esq.
Arms as 1823. Son and heir of Walter Selby, born 1858, married Margaret Broomilaw, died 1900.

1886. GEORGE ANDERSON OF LITTLE HARLE TOWER, esq.
Arms as 1843. Son and heir of Thomas Anderson (sheriff 1843), born 1843, M.A. Oxon., barrister at law, married Alice Cadogan; J.P., D.L., died 1927.

1887. RALPH ATKINSON OF ANGERTON, esq.

Arms as 1847. Son and heir of Ralph Atkinson of Newcastle, who c. 1820 bought High and Low Angerton from the Earl of Carlisle.

1888. JOHN RALPH CARR-ELLISON OF HEDGELEY, esq.

Quarterly I and IV gules a chevron silver between three eagles' heads rased gold—Ellison, II and III gules on a chevron silver three stars sable a border invected silver—Carr.

Son of Ralph Carr of Hedgeley who, in 1871, assumed the additional name of Ellison; born 1832, married first Emily Stockley and second Edith Fenwick-Clennell; J.P., died 1907.

1889. SIR EDWARD WILLIAM BLACKETT OF MATFEN, bt.

Arms as 1679. Succeeded as seventh baronet 1885, born 1831, married Hon. Julia Somerville; major-general, knight of Legion of Honour, C.B., J.P., died 1909.

1890. CADWALLADER JOHN BATES OF LANGLEY CASTLE, esq.

Barry per pale azure and silver countercoloured.

Son of Thomas Bates of Aydon, born 1853, educated Eton and Jesus College, Cambridge, historian and antiquary, restored Langley Castle, wrote *Border Holds* and other papers upon Northumberland, J.P. and D.L., died 1902. (Seal, page 90.)

1891. GEORGE PRINGLE HUGHES OF MIDDLETON, esq.

Gules two lions passant and a rose in chief silver.

Son and heir of John Hughes Pringle, who assumed the surname of Hughes upon succeeding to the Middleton estates; born 1833, succeeded 1869, unmarried, J.P. and D.L., died 1929.

1892. RICHARD BURDON-SANDERSON OF WARREN HOUSE, esq.

Paly of six gold and azure on a bend sable three an-

nulets gold, on a canton gules a sword erect silver pommel gold, quartering Burdon.

Son of Richard Burdon-Sanderson and his wife Isabella Haldane, born 1852, married Katherine Mitford; M.A. Cambridge, alderman of County, J.P., died 1909.

1893. EDWARD LEADBITTER OF THE SPITAL, HEXHAM.

Gules on a chevron gold, between three bezants, three crosses patonce silver.

He was probably of the Warden family, but I have not been able to trace him. He was a J.P. for Northumberland.

1894. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM CROSSMAN OF CHESWICK, K.C.M.G.

Silver a cross ermine between four escallops sable.

Son of Robert Crossman of Cheswick and Holy Island, born 1830, Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, M.P. Portsmouth, V.P. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, J.P., fellow of Royal Geographical Society, died 1901.

1895. NATHANIEL GEORGE CLAYTON OF CHESTERS, esq.

Silver a cross engrailed between four roundels gules.

Nephew and heir of John Clayton of Chesters, born 1833, married Isabel Ogle, M.P. Hexham, J.P. and D.L., died 1895.

3rd Oct. 1895. CHARLES LORAIN BELL OF WOOLSINGTON, esq.

Arms as 1797. Son of John Bell and Isabel Loraine, born 1836, married Anne Bernard, freeman of Merchants' Company, Newcastle; J.P. and D.L., died 1921.

1896. SIR ANDREW NOBLE OF JESMOND DENE HOUSE, K.C.B.

Silver three bay leaves vert.

Son of George Noble of Greenock, born 1831, married Margery Campbell, captain R.A., of Armstrong's Works, Elswick, 1860, chairman 1900, baronet of Ardmore and Ardardan Noble 1902, F.R.S., D.Sc., D.C.L., etc., J.P. and D.L., died 1915.

1897. SIR JOHN WALTER BUCHANAN RIDDELL OF HEPPLE, bt.
Silver a chevron gules between three ears of rye slipt.
Eleventh baronet, born 1849, M.A. Oxford, barrister
at law, married Sarah Wharton, J.P., died 1924.

1898. AUGUSTUS EDWARD BURDON OF HARTFORD HOUSE, esq.
Quarterly I and IV per fess azure and gold a pale with
three trumpets two and one and three crosses-crosslet
one and two all countercoloured—Burdon, II and III
gules on a fess engrailed between two salmon fessways
silver a salmon fessways gules—De Butts.
Son of Sir Augustus de Butts, assumed the name and
arms of Burdon 1871; born 1851, married Alice Van-
deleur, major Northumberland Yeomanry, J.P., died
1908.

1899. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG WATSON-ARMSTRONG OF CRAG-
SIDE, esq.

Quarterly I and IV gules a spear fessways gold head
silver between two dexter arms embowed in armour
couped at the shoulder hands extended proper—Arm-
strong, II and III silver a fess raguly between two crosses
botony in chief and a martlet in base gules—Watson.

Son of John William Watson of Adderstone, born 1863,
of Trinity College, Cambridge, M.A., assumed addi-
tional name of Armstrong 1899, created baron Arm-
strong of Cragside 1903, married first Winifreda Adye,
second Beatrice Cowx, third Catherine England;
D.C.L. Durham, J.P. and D.L., died 1941.

1900. LAWRENCE WILLIAM ADAMSON OF EGLINGHAM HALL, esq.

Vert gutty of water, a cross invected, in the first quarter
a key paleways, in the second a talbot passant all gold.

Son of Lawrence Adamson, born 1829, married first
Anne Flint and second Sarah Swan; LL.D., J.P. and
D.L. Northumberland, J.P. Durham, V.P. Society of
Antiquaries of Newcastle, died 1911.

EDWARD VII, 1901-10.

1901. HUGH ANDREWS OF SWARLAND HALL, esq.

Gules a saltire gold surmounted by another vert, with due difference.

I have not been able to trace his descent. He was a J.P. and D.L. for Northumberland and J.P. for Gloucestershire, died *c.* 1927.

1902. THOMAS CLENNELL FENWICKE-CLENNELL OF HARBOTTLE CASTLE, esq.

Quarterly I and IV azure a dexter arm vested proper grasping a baton gold issuing from the sinister base—Clennell, II and III per fess gules and silver within two barrulets between six martlets a staff raguly fessways all countercoloured—Fenwicke.

Son of Thomas Fenwick, who in 1882 assumed the additional name of Clennell; born 1857, married first Helen Cheese, second Nancy Cameron; J.P., died 1931.

1903. WILLIAM DONALDSON CRUDDAS OF HAUGHTON CASTLE, esq.

Per pale gules and sable a chevron indented between five fleurs-de-lis gold.

Son of George Cruddas of the Dene, Elswick; born 1831, married Margaret Nesham; M.P. Newcastle 1895-1900, J.P. and D.L. Northumberland, partner and financial manager of Elswick Works, died 1912.

1904. THOMAS TAYLOR OF CHIPCHASE CASTLE, esq.

Son of Hugh Taylor of Chipchase, born 1849, married 1880 Mona Waldie-Griffith, coal-owner, alderman and chairman of finance committee of the Northumberland County Council, J.P. and D.L., V.P. Society of Anti-quaries of Newcastle, died 1938.

1905. JOHN DAVISON MILBURN OF GUYZANCE, esq.

Per fess gold and gules a pale countercoloured between

two bears' heads rased in chief muzzled gold and two like bears' heads in base gold.

Son and heir of William Milburn, born 1851, married Clara Stamp, created a baronet 30 Dec. 1905, J.P. Northumberland, died 1907.

1906. ALEXANDER BROWNE OF CALLALY CASTLE, esq.

Per chevron gules and ermine three lions' jambs rased and erect gold.

Son and heir of Alexander Henry Browne of Callaly, born 1871, married first Edith Cookson, second Enid Scudamore Stanhope; J.P., major (retired) 3rd Northumberland Fusiliers.

1907. JOHN COPPIN STRAKER OF THE LEAZES, HEXHAM, esq.

Quarterly I and IV azure on a chevron silver, between two arrows paleways in chief and a molet in base, an arrow between two molets and in centre chief point a molet all countercoloured—Straker; II and III gold on a pile gules a cock gold and a chief vair—Coppin.

Son of John Straker of Stagshaw Close House, born 1847, married 1884 Alice Allgood, O.B.E. and J.P., of Nunwick; J.P. and D.L., colonel Northumberland Hussars, M.F.H., died 1940.

1908. JAMES EDWARD WOODS OF SWARLAND HALL, esq.

Silver on a chevron sable, between three martlets sable, five gouttes silver.

Younger son of J. A. Woods of Benton Hall, born 1850, partner in banking firm of Woods & Co., Newcastle (now Barclay's), married 1885 Mary Heron Adamson of North Jesmond, J.P. Newcastle and Northumberland, knighted 1922, living London 1942.

1909. NEWTON CHARLES OGLE OF KIRKLEY HALL, esq.

Silver a fess between three crescents gules.

Son of rev. Edward Chaloner Ogle, born 1850, married first Lady Lilian Denison, second Beatrice Hartopp, succeeded his brother 1892, J.P. and D.L., died 1912.

GEORGE V, 1910-36.

1910. HON. CHARLES ALGERNON PARSONS OF HOLEYN HALL, C.B.

Gules three leopards' faces silver, with due difference.

Younger son of third earl of Rosse, born 1854, married Katherine Bethell; M.A., D.Sc., Cambridge and other hon. degrees; O.M., K.C.B., J.P., Pres. Brit. Assoc. 1919; died 1931.

1911. CAPTAIN JAMES HAROLD CUTHBERT OF BEAUFONT CASTLE, D.S.O.

Arms as 1860. Son and heir of William Cuthbert (sheriff 1860), born 1876, married first Lady Anne Byng, second Kathleen Straker; J.P., captain Scots Guards, killed in action 1915.

1912. DAVID HUGH WATSON ASKEW OF CASTLE HILLS, BERWICK, esq.

Sable a fess gold between three asses passant silver—Askew.

Younger son of Watson Askew-Robertson of Pallinsburn, born 1863, B.A. Oxon., barrister of Inner Temple, J.P. Berwick and Northumberland, died 1932.

1913. HOWARD PEASE OF OTTERBURN TOWER, esq.

Per fess azure and gules a fess nebuly ermine between two lambs passant in chief silver and in base on a mount a dove rising silver holding a pea-stalk with flower and pads.

Son of John William Pease of Pendower, born 1843, of Balliol College, Oxford; married Margaret Kynaston; banker, author of north country histories and romances, F.S.A., J.P. Northumberland, died 1927.

1914. SIR HUGH DOUGLAS BLACKETT OF MATFEN HALL, bt.

Arms as 1679. Eighth baronet, born 1873, captain Northumberland Yeomanry, succeeded 1909, married Helen Lowther, J.P.

1915. GEORGE HOPE WADDILOVE OF BRUNTON, esq.

Son and heir of George Marmaduke Darley Waddilove of Woodhorn, born 1865, lord of manor of Woodhorn, M.A. Pembroke College, Oxford, J.P., unmarried, died 1934.

1916. RALPH GEORGE ELPHINSTONE MORTIMER OF MILBOURNE HALL, esq.

Son of William Brook Mortimer of Hay Carr and his wife Catoline Elliot, born 1869, of Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, M.A., succeeded to Milbourne Hall estates under will of his grandmother Georgiana Elliott daughter of Ralph Bates of Halliwell and Milbourne 1891, J.P. Lancs. and Northumberland, O.B.E., knighted 1934, married Violet Stokes of Ellet Hall, Lancashire.

1917. WALTER JOHN BENSON OF NEWBROUGH HALL, esq.

Silver on a chevron couped gules, between three goats' heads sable rased gules a fleur-de-lis between two escallops gold.

Of Allerwash and Newbrough, son of William Benson, born 1859, married Helen Blenkinsop Coulson, J.P., died 1923.

1918. SIR GEORGE JOHN WILLIAM NOBLE OF JESMOND DENE HOUSE, bt.

Arms as 1896. Second baronet of Ardmere, born 1859, succeeded his father 1915, married 1896 Mary Walker-Waters, late captain 13th Hussars and major Northumberland Hussars, J.P., died 1937.

1919. EDWARD GORDON COLLINGWOOD OF DISSINGTON HALL, esq.

Arms as 1697. Son of rev. Robert Gordon Calthrop and his wife Arabella Collingwood of Dissington, who in 1868 assumed the name of Collingwood; born 1859, M.A. Trinity College, Oxford, admitted Lincoln's Inn 1882, married Mary Raw; J.P. Northumberland.

1920. SIR HUBERT SWINBURNE OF CAPHEATON HALL, bt.

Arms as 1866. Eighth baronet, succeeded 1914, born 1867, B.A. and LL.B. Trinity College, Cambridge, married Alice Clayton of Chesters; J.P. Northumberland, major Northumberland Yeomanry, died 1934.

1921. CLARENCE DALRYMPLE SMITH OF LOUGHBROW, esq., O.B.E.

Gold a castle gules on a chief sable a lozenge gold between two martlets silver.

Younger son of Thomas Eustace Smith, M.P.; born 1868, married Cicily daughter of Charles Foster, director Smith's Dock Co., chairman Consett Iron Co., J.P., died 1941.

1922. PHILIP ERNEST NOBLE OF JESMOND DENE HOUSE, esq.

Arms as 1896, with due difference. Younger son of Sir Andrew Noble (sheriff 1896), born 1870, married 1895 Mabel Westmacott; J.P., died 1931.

1923. LIEUT.-COL. SIR ALEXANDER LEITH, GREYCOURT, RIDING MILL, bt., M.C.

Azure a fess between in chief a cross-crosslet fitchy between two crescents and in base three lozenges all gold.

First baronet, son of Walter Leith of Ashby de la Zouch and Walmer Court, Kent; born 1869, educated Harrow and Brasenose College, Oxford, married Mary Maguire, J.P. and D.L.

1924. COLONEL PHILIP BLENOWE-COOKSON, MELDON PARK, C.M.G., O.B.E.

Arms as 1838. Son and heir of John Blencowe Cookson, born 1871, major 1st Life Guards and colonel 2nd Northumberland Hussars, married Gwendoline Brassey; J.P., died 1928.

1925. BRIG.-GENERAL BERTRAM FITZHERBERT WIDDRINGTON OF NEWTON HALL, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Arms as 1874. Son of S. F. Widdrington (sheriff 1874),

- born 1873, married Clothilde Onslow Ford; J.P. and D.L., lieut.-col. K.R.R.C., served in South African and Great War 1914-18, died 1942.
1926. ARTHUR SCHOLEFIELD OF LINT CLOSE, ALNMOUTH, esq.
Silver on a pale gules a slipt rose silver on a chief silver three bulls' heads gules.
Shipowner and broker of Newcastle, married Anne Temperley, chairman of Tyne Commissioners, joint master of Percy foxhounds, J.P. for Northumberland and Newcastle, died 1930.
1927. JOHN EDWARD COWEN OF MINSTERACRES, esq.
Silver a saltire between a crescent in chief and an annulet in base and two escallops in fess gules.
Son of John Anthony Cowen of Blaydon Burn, born 1873, educated Clifton, married 1903 Mabel Hunter Thompson of Winlaton; J.P., died 1938.
1928. SIR LEONARD JOHN MILBURN OF GUYZANCE, bt.
Arms as 1905. Third baronet, son of Sir J. D. Milburn (sheriff 1905), born 1884, succeeded 1917, married Joan Anson Horton, lieut. Royal Horse Guards, J.P.
1929. WILLIAM NOEL VILLIERS OF ADDERSTONE HALL, esq.
Silver on a cross gules five escallops gold.
Son of rev. Charles Villiers, late rector of Croft, born 1864, educated Marlborough College, married Susan Watson daughter of late J. W. Watson of Adderstone Hall, fellow of Land Agents Society, J.P. Northumberland 1907 and chairman of Glendale petty sessions, member of Northumberland C.C., member of Newcastle Diocesan Board of Finance and lay representative in Church Assembly.
1930. CAPTAIN HERBERT BENJAMIN SPEKE OF PIGDON, esq., O.B.E.
Silver two bars azure over all an eagle displayed with two heads gules a chief azure thereon water proper, superinscribed NILE.

Younger son of rev. Benjamin Speke, rector of Washfield; born 1877, educated Marlborough, married Sybil Reed, captain Northumberland Fusiliers, J.P.

1931. MAJOR PHILIP EUSTACE SMITH OF ROTHLEY CRAG, esq., M.C.

Gold a castle gules, on a chief sable a lozenge gold between two martlets silver.

Son of Eustace Smith and his wife Ellen Gertrude Hawkes, born 1888, married Eleanor Clayton 1912, Northumberland Hussars 1913-34, J.P. Northumberland, director of public companies, died 1935.

1932. CAPTAIN WILLIAM HENRY CHARLTON OF HESLEYSIDE, T.D.
Arms as 1837. Son and heir of William Oswald Charlton, born 1876, late 12th Royal Lancers, captain Northumberland Hussars, married Bridget Angela Saltillo; J.P.

1933. LIEUT.-COL. HON. HUGH EDWARD JOICEY OF ETAL MANOR, D.S.O.

Silver three lozenges sable within two bendlets invected gules, between two miner's picks bendways proper.

Second son of Sir James Joicey, bt., first baron Joicey of Chester-le-Street and Ford Castle; born 1881, married Lady Joan Lambton, late lieut.-col. 14th Hussars and 1st Suffolk regiment, served in South African War and in Great War 1914-18, J.P. Northumberland.

1934. CLENNELL FRANK MASSEY DREW-WILKINSON OF CLENNELL.

Quarterly 1 and IV gules on a fess couped erminois, between three unicorns passant silver, armed gold, a cross flory gules—Wilkinson; II and III per saltire ermine and silver a lion passant gules—Drew. (Grant 1928.)

Son of captain Francis Massey Drew of Drew's Court, Limerick; born 1877, succeeded to Clennell on the death of his uncle Anthony Wilkinson in 1927 and took

the additional name of Wilkinson; married Gladys Wilkinson 1907.

1935. MAJOR GEORGE DENIS ANDERSON OF LITTLE HARLE TOWER, esq.

Gules three oak trees silver acorned gold.

Son of George Anderson (sheriff 1886), born 1885, B.A. Oxon, major R.A., barrister at law, married Mary Myddleton-Evans; J.P.

EDWARD VIII, 1936.

1936. CAPTAIN ARCHIBALD WILLIAM MILBURN OF FOWBERRY TOWER.

Arms as 1905, with due difference. Fourth son of Sir John Milburn (sheriff 1905), born 1887, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge, captain Northumberland Hussars, married Eleanor Tufnell; J.P. Northumberland.

GEORGE VI, 1936.

1937. EDWARD FOYLE COLLINGWOOD OF LILBURN TOWER, esq.

Arms as 1697. Son and heir of Cuthbert George Collingwood, born 1900, M.A. and Ph.D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, succeeded to Lilburn, Glanton Pike, etc., 1933; J.P. Northumberland.

1938. THOMAS DALRYMPLE STRAKER-SMITH OF HOWDEN DENE, esq.

Quarterly, I and IV quarterly I and 4 gold a castle gules on a chief sable three lozenges gold—Smith; 2 and 3 azure on a chevron silver, between in chief an arrow paleways between two molets and in base an arrow paleways, a molet between two arrows all counter-changed—Straker; II Smith as I and 4; III gold on a saltire azure, between two bougets in flanks sable, nine lozenges gold—Dalrymple. Straker as nos. 2 and 3 in pretence.

Now of Carham Hall, eldest son of William Henry Smith of Rotorua, New Zealand; born 1890, married Edith Helen, daughter and heir of Joseph Henry Straker of Howden Dene 1920, assumed surname of Straker-Smith by deed poll 1920, J.P. Northumberland.

1939. LIEUT.-COL. HENRY STANLEY BELL OF BAVINGTON HALL, C.M.G., D.S.O., T.D.

Fifth son of the late Alderman Thomas Bell of Newcastle upon Tyne, born 1874, married Anne Wilkinson of Newcastle, colonel Royal Artillery, served in South African and war of 1914-18, J.P. and D.L. Northumberland.

1940. NORMAN DAKEYNE NEWALL OF NEWBROUGH LODGE, esq.

Younger son of Frederick Stirling Newall of Washington, Durham; born 1888, married Leslia Forster, J.P., major R.A.F., O.B.E., J.P. Northumberland.

1941. FRANK BUDDLE ATKINSON OF GALLOWHILL, esq.

Silver an eagle displayed with two heads pean between two flaunches sable each charged with a stringed bugle horn silver, on a chief gold a pale between two martlets gules a rose silver on the pale.

Son and heir of Buddle Atkinson, born 1866, married firstly Clara Draper and secondly Mabel Westmacott widow of Philip Noble (sheriff 1922), formerly of 5th Lancers, J.P. Northumberland.

1942. COLONEL BERNARD CRUDDAS, D.S.O., M.P., MIDDLETON HALL.

Party per pale gules and sable a chevron engrailed between three fleurs-de-lis in chief and an escallop in base all gold.

Son of Charles John Cruddas and his wife Edith Strickland, born 1 Jan. 1882, colonel Royal Northumberland Fusiliers, M.P. Wansbeck division, Northumberland, J.P. and D.L. for Northumberland.

PART III.—SHERIFFS OF NORHAM.

*The said shire is and hath alwayes been used as a Countye Palen-tyne, and hath itself a Sheriffe, an Escheator, and a Coroner . . . hath the same alwayes had the offices before named and all other offices within itselfe.*¹

It was said in the introduction to part I² that the northern part of Northumberland comprising the shires of Norham and Holy Island were not, in mediaeval times, part of the administrative county. They formed North Durham and were an outlying part of the franchise or liberty of the palatinate of Durham over which the bishops of Durham, as lords palatine, ruled with almost royal powers. They appointed their own sheriffs and other administrative officers for the two shires, thus continuing a separate jurisdiction which may probably date back to Anglian times. The constable or keeper of Norham castle had also the county of Norham committed to his charge as sheriff, and generally he combined with that office the duties of the other chief offices, those namely of steward, escheator, coroner and justice. The "county of Norham" evidently included the two shires.

The earliest recorded appointment I have found is that of Sir Robert Colville by bishop Richard of Kellawe on 5 May 1314—*Ricardus . . . sciatis nos custodiam castri nostri de Norham et comitatus de Norham cum suis pertinentiis et libertatibus commisisse, per praesentes, quamdiu nobis placuerit, custodiendam. . .*³ On the 5th August in the same year the bishop ordered his commissioners to deliver the castle and county to Sir William Ridel; the order is enrolled in old French and reads as follows: "*Come por*

¹ *The Survey Book of Norham and Islandshire* taken and made in the third year (1561) of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, etc.

² AA⁴ xx, pp. 13ff.

³ RPD I, 544.

*certeignes enchesouns qui a ceo nous movent eoms baille le garde de nostre chastel et le counte de Norham a monsire William Rydel a tenir et faire a nostre volente.*⁴ He was to hold pleas, let lands and do all things which the constables and keepers of the said castle and county had been used to do in times past. In like manner, bishop Thomas of Hatfield, in 1345, confirmed Sir Robert Maners in his offices of constable of Norham castle and sheriff and escheator in the county;⁵ in the following year he appointed Sir Thomas Grey to the same positions. On 4 July 1386, bishop John of Fordham gave Gerard Heron even more duties when he made him constable of the castle and justice, steward, sheriff, coroner and escheator in the county of Norham.⁶ The term for which these appointments were made was indefinite, "during pleasure," but in 1401 bishop Walter Skirlaw appointed William Carnaby for the term of three years, and in 1403 Sir Robert Ogle was appointed to all the offices for seven years, afterwards extended to his lifetime.⁷ In 1435 bishop Thomas of Langley altered the method of appointment: instead of making it by letters patent or by indenture, he granted a comprehensive lease of the two shires and all their chief offices for the term of twenty years to Sir Robert Ogle.⁸ His successors granted similar leases, for varying terms, until in 1540 bishop Cuthbert Tunstall granted the last one recorded to Bryan Layton of Middleton St. George for the term of his (Layton's) life.⁹ There was therefore no fixed term for holding this shrievalty, as for the royal sheriffs; it varied greatly from one year to twenty or for the life of the holder. It would also seem that when one man held such a plurality of offices, some of them must have been served by deputies. The office also tended to become hereditary in certain families, thus the Greys of

⁴ RPD 1, 588.

⁵ RND, 45.

⁶ Cur. Fordham.

⁷ RND, 46.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

Heton, Wark and Chillingham served, with short intervals, for nearly two hundred years (1318-1507), whilst the widespread Heron family held the office for more than one hundred years between 1373 and 1481, and the Ogles held it continuously from 1403 to 1469. A derangement of the office was also caused when, during a vacancy of the see, the temporalities reverted to the Crown, which thereupon appointed its own keepers and sheriffs, who were usually royal clerks attached to the king's household; of such were Bartholomew Peche (1227), Stephen Lucy (1228), John son of Philip (1237) and Simon of Heddon (1260). The vacancies during the thirteenth century were of longer duration than later when the shorter vacancies apparently did not interrupt the work of the bishop's own officials in the two shires.

Norham castle was often, in time of national danger from the north, granted for a term to the Crown, as phrased by Edward II in 1314, "for the defence of himself, his people and his land."¹⁰

A royal constable and garrison was then placed in it; this, however, was a purely military arrangement and does not seem to have affected the shrievalty. There are no appointments of sheriff after the lease of 1540, though the office of captain of Norham continued to be held by royal appointment until the union of the crowns in 1603. A statute of 1536 enacted that all judicial offices, sheriffs, bailiffs, etc., were henceforth to be appointed by the Crown and that all writs were to run in the king's name. In 1559, on the deprivation of bishop Tunstall, the temporalities of the shires of Norham and Island were alienated from the see of Durham by act of parliament and were reserved to the Crown at the restitution of each succeeding bishop.

No official seals of the sheriffs of this little principality are known, it therefore seems probable that they did not use special seals.

¹⁰ RPD I, 666.

RANULPH FLAMBARD, 1099-1128.

s.d. ASKETIL.

c. 1110. PAPEDY.

I have found nothing about them but their names.

During the vacancies of the see (1128-33, 1140-43, 1152-53) and the episcopates of RUFUS (1133-40) and ST. BARBARA (1143-52) no names have been found.

HUGH DE PUISET, 1153-95.

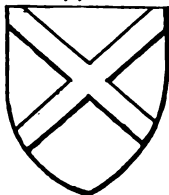
c. 1174-75. ROGER CONYERS.



Azure a maunch gold.

Son of Roger, a baron of the bishopric, appointed by Henry II whilst the bishop was under suspicion of treason, he was constable of Durham in 1177.

c. 1177-80 and in 1186. WILLIAM NEVILLE, knt.



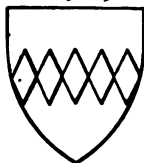
Gules a saltire silver.

Said to have been brother of Geoffrey Neville who married the heiress of the Bulmers of Brancepeth.

c. 1180-90. MALB'.

Not identified; in the *Feodarium*, p. 198, he witnesses a deed as sheriff of Norham along with John and Burcharde, archdeacons.

c. 1190-96. HENRY OF FERLINGTON, knt.



Sable a fess indented gold.

In charge of Norham for seven years in the times of bishops Hugh Puiset and Philip of Poitou. He was justice of assize in Yorks. 1223-24.

PHILIP OF POITOU, 1197-1208.

c. 1197-98. HENRY OF FERLINGTON, as above.

SEE VACANT, 1208-17.

c. 1214-26. ROBERT OF CLIFFORD, *knt.*



Silver three spread eagles gules.

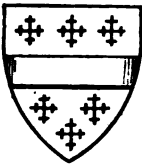
Of the family who in 1304 succeeded to the barony of Ellingham. He was appointed by the king.

RICHARD OF THE MARSH (OR LE MARRAYS), 1217-26.

1226. ROBERT OF CLIFFORD, as above.

SEE VACANT, 1226-27.

1227. BARTHOLOMEW PECHE, *knt.*



Gules crusilly and a fess silver.

He was son of that Herbert Peché whose great-grandson John in 1347-48 disputed the next presentation to the church of Coleby with the provost and scholars of St. Mary's, Oxford. He had a grant of lands in "Coleby of the honour of Richmond" in 1243. He was appointed to Norham by the king during the vacancy 1226-27 and was probably of the king's household and much employed upon the king's business. In 1217 had custody of manor of Basingstoke, on 3rd Sept. 1227 ordered to give up Norham to Master Stephen Lucy, 1229-30 protection going beyond sea, 1234 styled king's messenger, 1234 licensed to make his will when he chose, 1236 protection going to Rome on king's business, 1241 custody of land of Ralph Gorges, 1241 ordered to sell crops of king's demesnes in eastern counties, 1242 safe conduct

abroad on king's business to make a treaty with the emperor, 1244 envoy to Rome, 1249 constable of Corfe, 1250 exemption for life from juries together with his sons Herbert and Emery, 1251 going beyond seas, 1254 constable of Montgomery, 1256 exemption for life from all suits and grant of 100s. for his good service to king Edward and his son.

1227-28. STEPHEN LUCY.

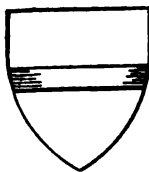


Gules three luces silver, with due difference. Styled master (*magister*), probably a clerk of the king's household, received Norham from Sir Bartholomew Peche 3 Sept. 1227, some year had grant of the custody of the lands of Walter of Lexinton in Durham and the wardship and marriage of his heirs, 28 December 1227 guardian of diocese of Durham *sede vacante*, 12 Aug. 1228 being in charge of Norham and Durham ordered to give them up to the bishop (le Poore); 1223 king's envoy, 1224-25 procurator at the court of the Pope, 1225 had protection going to Ireland with the earl marshal, 1229 grant of lands in Seleham, 1227 styled prebendary of Darlington, Easington and Norton, justice itinerant 1227.

RICHARD LE POORE, 1228-37.

1230. RICHARD OF HENREDE, not identified.

1236-37. JOHN OF RUMSEYE, knt.



Silver a fess gules. He was constable of Durham in the early thirteenth century and steward in the times of bishops le Poore and Farnham, styled *dominus* in deeds he witnessed, 28 April 1237 as constable of Bamburgh and Durham castles was ordered to deliver them to John son of Philip.

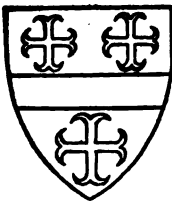
SEE VACANT, 1237-41.

1237. JOHN SON OF PHILIP, knt.

Arms are not known, he was probably a knight of the king's household; 1222 keeper of the forest of "Kenefer," 1225 justice of assize, 1228 patron of the church of "Kenefer," 1230 had protection going over seas, 1231 constable of the castle and manor of Oswestry, 1235 protection going beyond seas as the king's envoy, Oct. 1235 his wife Pernell to have custody of lands he holds in chief and of the marriage of his heirs, 28 April 1237 appointed, during pleasure, guardian of Durham and Norham *sede vacante*, John of Rumsey ordered to deliver them to him, 1238 commissioner of king's demesnes in Cumberland and Westmorland, Oct. 1243 earl of Derby ordered to send the son and heir of John son of Philip to the king, 1244 the lady Gwillelma of the queen's chamber granted custody of lands of late John son of Philip and the marriage of John his son and heir to the use of Isabel daughter of the lady Gwillelma.

NICHOLAS OF FARNHAM, 1241-49.

1243. WILLIAM COLVILLE, knt.



Gold a fess between three mill-rind crosses gules.

Son of Philip Colville, who was steward to bishop Puiset; held a moiety of Budle and Spindlestone by knight service of the barony of Alnwick.

WALTER OF KIRKHAM, 1249-60.

1258. ROBERT NEVILLE, knt.

Arms as 1177. Lord of Raby and Brancepeth, justice itinerant, governor at different dates of Wark, Pickering and Scarborough castles.

c. 1260. SIMON OF HEDDON.

Arms unknown. 1260 appointed by the king *sede vacante*, Oct. 1258 sheriff of Notts. and Derbyshire, 1260 assessor of tallage in those counties, 1260 witnessed a deed of Robert of Clifford as constable of Norham, Aug. 1264 had letters of protection until Michaelmas, June 1264 ordered to deliver the counties of Notts. and Derby to William fitz Herbert, 1266 on various commissions of inquisition.

ROBERT OF STICHIL, 1261-74.

ROBERT OF HOLY ISLAND, 1274-83.

1275. JOHN FITZ MARMADUKE, knt.



Gules a fess between three popinjays silver. Son of Marmaduke fitz Geoffrey, lord of Horden, married Ida widow of Robert of Neville, sealed letter to Pope in 1301, he was at Caerlaverock in 1300 where he "was esteemed a prince and duke by all who knew him," served the bishop of Durham as knight and in 1307 commanded forces for the king in Scotland, died in 1310 being then guardian of St. John's Town (Perth), where he died.

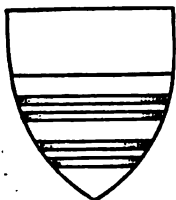
1275. ROBERT OF KIRKHAM, unidentified.

ANTONY BEK, 1284-1311.

1284-1305. WALTER OF ROUBIRY.

Arms unknown. He is styled, in a deed of 1286, lord of Croxdale; in 1305 he was styled servant of the bishop of Durham at Norham; he was dead by 1311, when Sir Richard of Routhbury, knt., his son, was his executor.

1310. THOMAS OF RICHMOND, knt.



Gules two bars gemelle and a chief gold. Son of Roald fitz Alan of Richmond, he was much employed in the Scots wars of Edward I and II, at Caerlaverock in 1300, commissioner in Yorks. 1310-13, lord of Burton Constable 1316, granted castle of Cockermouth for life 1314, died 1317.

RICHARD OF KELLAWE, 1311-17.

c. 1311-14. WILLIAM RIDEL, knt.



Gules a lion rampant and a border indented silver.

Lord of Tillmouth on Tweed, king's commissioner in Northumberland 1312-25, sheriff of that county 1315-19, guardian of Barnard Castle 1319-21, commissioner of array 1321, conservator of peace 1318, summoned as knight of Northumberland to Great Council of 1324 at Westminster, M.P. for county 1325. On 5 June 1311 appointed constable and bailiff of the castle and honour of Norham; on 5 August 1314 the bishop's commissioners were ordered to deliver to him the custody of the county and castle of Norham. In 1312 he had a grant from the bishop of £10 a year and a yearly grant of robes befitting a knight, and in the same year Patrick of Kellawe, the bishop's brother, was ordered to give up to him for his residence the lower hall and chamber in Norham castle.

c. 1311. PATRICK OF KELLAWE.



. . . a lion rampant . . . (seal).

He was the brother of the bishop and a man of note in the bishopric, he had many grants of land there as well as the custody of young heirs to estates, he was also appointed upon various commissions by the bishop.

1314-17. WALTER OF GOSWICK.



Vert a fess between three geese silver.

His parentage is unknown and he does not seem to have been a knight. In 1312 he had acquittance of his account at the exchequer at Norham, and on 6 May of that year he was ordered by the bishop "because of many dangers happened to divers castles in the

Marches of Scotland," to deliver the castle of Norham to Sir Robert Colville; on 9 October 1314 he again received the custody of the county and castle, in 1316 he had a lease of the castle for one year, in 1312 he had a grant for fifteen years of the manor of Fenwick in Islandshire. In the years 1312-14 he had various grants from the bishop of the wardship of wards and the marriage of widows; the date of his death is unknown.

May 1314. ROBERT OF COLVILLE, knt.

Arms as 1243. Grandson of Sir John Colville (1243), styled knight in 1312, received castle and county from Walter of Goswick on 15 May 1314 and on 16th he undertook to deliver it again at the request of the bishop; he was dead by 1339 when Sir Robert Maners had a grant of the custody of his heir and lands.

1314. SIR ROBERT CLIFFORD.

Arms as 1214. It seems that he acted jointly with Sir Robert Colville, as on 16 May 1314 he acknowledges that he had received custody of the castle and county "to keep and guard under the peril belonging thereto" and undertakes to restore them to the bishop on demand. He was probably a grandson of Sir Robert Clifford (1214), he held the barony of Gaugy in 1304, styled knight 1312, in 1316 he was keeper of the liberties of the bishopric *sede vacante*, and in the same year keeper of the king's forests beyond Trent, died 1339. In the same year 1314 Sir Edmund Mauley (gules on a bend sable three wyverns silver); steward of the royal

household and lord of Tyndale, was appointed to guard Norham castle by the special request of the king; he was drowned in the pursuit after Bannockburn.

SEE VACANT 10 OCTOBER 1316-25 MARCH 1318.

1316. HENRY BEAUMONT, *knt.*

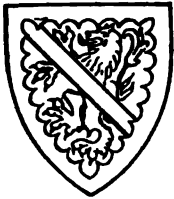


Azure fleuretty and a lion rampant gold, with difference.

Appointed by the king during the vacancy, he was a younger son of Louis de Brienne, viscount Beaumont, married Alice Comyn and in her right became earl of Buchan, fought on the king's side at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322, constable of England 1322, justiciar of Scotland 1338, died 1340.

LOUIS BEAUMONT, 1318-33.

1318-26. THOMAS GREY I, *knt.*



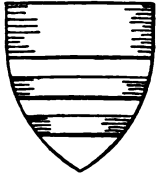
Gules a lion rampant and a border engrailed silver, a baston azure.

Lord of Heton, Norhamshire, son and heir of Thomas Grey of the same place; he was much employed in the wars against Scotland, served at Berwick and on the Marches, with fourteen esquires, for the king, taken prisoner after Bannockburn and received grants of land at Howick for his good services, summoned as a knight to the Great Council at Westminster in 1324, commissioner of array 1326, had a grant of Mitford castle in 1326 from David earl of Athol. In 1318 Norham castle was besieged by king Robert of Scotland for nearly a year, but the heroic resistance of the garrison was successful and it remained uncaptured, as it did in the following year when it sustained a second

siege of seven months, and a third attempt in 1322 was equally fruitless; died 1343.

RICHARD OF BURY, 1333-45.

1326-45. ROBERT MANERS, knt.



Gold two bars azure and a chief gules.

He was the third Robert lord of Etal, son and heir of Robert, who was distrained for knight-hood in 1278, and who held half a knight's fee of the barony of Muscamp or Wooler; 1333 constable of castle as well as sheriff and escheator, in 1341 he was licensed to make a castle of his house at Etal, in 1327 he successfully defended Norham castle when besieged by the Scots, 1333 appointed chief justice of the two shires, in 1345 he was ordered to deliver the castle and county of Norham to Sir Thomas Grey II, he died September 1355.

THOMAS OF HATFIELD, 1345-81.

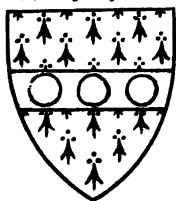
1345-69. THOMAS GREY II, knt.



Gules a lion rampant and a border engrailed silver.

Son and heir of Sir Thomas I, did homage for his land 1343, in the same year he had protection going abroad with the king, and in 1344 had a grant for his good service; married Margaret daughter and heiress of William of Pressen, 1345 to be recognized as chief justice of the shire, 8 January 1346 appointed constable, sheriff and escheator of Norham, in August 1355 he was taken prisoner with his son by Patrick, earl of March, whilst on a sortie from Norham with a small force; he could not raise his ransom and remained a prisoner in Edinburgh castle (Chastel de Pucelis) for two years, during which he wrote the well-known chronicle called, after his ladder badge, *Scalachronica*; he died c. 1369.

1370-July 1373. NICHOLAS DAGWORTH, knt.



Ermine on a fess gules three bezants.

Appointed constable of the castle and justice, sheriff, steward and escheator of the two shires. He is said to have been son and heir of Sir Thomas Dagworth, baron Dagworth of Blickling, Norfolk. In 1359 he was captain of Flavingy, Burgundy, knight of the king's chamber, ambassador to the Pope 1381-82, royal commissioner 1388-89, M.P. Norfolk 1397/98, married Alianore daughter of Sir Walter Rossale, died 2 January 1401, buried at Blickling where his fine "brass" still remains. Crest, a dragon's head and neck. Arms as above, impaling gules a fess between six martlets gold—Rossale.

1373-85. JOHN HERON, knt.



Gules a chevron between three herons silver.

Son and heir of Sir John Heron of Crawley, Hedgeley and Beal; appointed constable of Norham and to the other principal offices of the two shires in July 1373 upon the resignation of Sir Nicholas Dagworth, bought lands in Houghton-le-Spring 1359, bought Eshot 1377, keeper of Berwick on Tweed 1379, settled his lands January 1384/85, died c. 1386.

JOHN OF FORDHAM, 1382-88.

1385-95. GERARD HERON, esq.

Arms as 1373, an annulet for difference. Second son of Sir John Heron whom he succeeded, by his father's appointment, in all his offices, those namely of constable, justice, steward, sheriff and escheator, in the two shires, confirmed by bishop Fordham, saving the rights of Nicholas Dagworth. He was called esquire in the patents both by Fordham and that of reappointment by

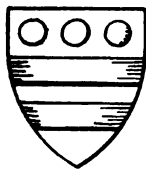
Skirlaw c. 1396, in 1400 he was styled "king's knight," he was on many commissions between 1386 and 1403. J.P. for Northumberland 1399-1401, M.P. for the county 1391 and 1402; died 1404.

WALTER SKIRLAW, 1388-1406.

1395-1401. THOMAS GREY III, knt.

Arms as 1345. In 1388 the bishop appointed him steward of all his demesnes in the bishopric and county of Northumberland to have rule and government of all the men and tenants thereof in time both of peace and war. Appointed constable of Norham and to the other offices of the shires upon the resignation of Gerard Heron. Son and heir of Sir Thomas (II), married Joan daughter of John fourth lord Mowbray, acquired Wark on Tweed from the earl of Westmorland, died 1400.

1401-03. WILLIAM CARNABY, esq.

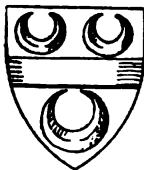


Silver two bars and in chief three roundels azure.

Appointed for three years to all the principal offices of the two shires upon the death of Sir Thomas Grey; he was then styled esquire.

He was son and heir of William Carnaby of Halton; married firstly Margaret Ap Griffith and secondly Isabel Fenwick, received possession of Halton 1383, tenant in chief 1387, commissioner 1398-99, M.P. Northumberland 1404, steward and bailiff of Hexhamshire 1405, styled chivaler, died 1407.

1403-36. ROBERT OGLE, knt.



Silver a fess between three crescents gules.

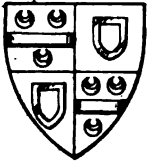
Appointed to all principal offices by Skirlaw, 2nd Feb. 1403, for term of seven years, by patent dated 6th Sept. 1403 the appointment was made for the term of his life. He was son and heir of Sir Robert Ogle and Joan Heton

his wife, born c. 1380, married Maud Grey of Horton, styled knight before 1408, constable of Wark 1419, captain of Berwick 1423, of Roxburgh 1428 when he is styled "king's knight," sheriff of Northumberland 1417, J.P., died 1436.

THOMAS LANGLEY, 1406-37.

ROBERT OGLE, *knt.*, as above, was reappointed to all his offices in the two shires by Langley 11 January 1424.

1436-69. ROBERT OGLE, *knt.*



Quarterly I and IV silver a fess between three crescents gules—Ogle, II and III gold an orle azure—Bertram.

Son and heir of above Sir Robert. Appointed to all his father's offices in the two shires 24 August 1436, for twenty years and for life by bishop Neville 1 February 1439, sheriff and escheator in Durham and Sadberg by the king, *s.v.* 1438, confirmed by bishop 1438 and superseded in same year, sheriff of Northumberland 1437, warden of East Marches 1438, lord warden of the Marches 1461, summoned to parliament as lord Ogle 1461, lord of Harbottle castle and Redesdale 1462, adherent of the Yorkist side in Wars of Roses, besieged Dunstanburgh for Edward IV 1464, constable of that castle and Bamburgh 1464, married Isabel Kirkby, died 1469.

ROBERT NEVILLE, 1438-57.

1439-69. ROBERT OGLE, as above.

LAWRENCE BOOTH, 1457-76.

1457-69. ROBERT OGLE, as above.

1475-81. ROGER HERON, esq.



Gules three herons silver.

Son and heir of Sir John Heron of Ford, succeeded him 1461, appointed constable of Norham castle and steward, sheriff and escheator of the county for his life 20 April 1475, 1481 ordered along with Henry earl of Northumberland to hold Norham against Scots, knighted by the earl of Northumberland near Berwick 22 August 1482, died 1485.

WILLIAM DUDLEY, 1476-83.

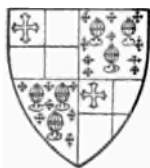
1481. HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.



Quarterly I and IV gold a lion rampant azure—Percy, II and III gules three luces silver—Lucy.

The fourth Percy earl of Northumberland (1461-89) appointed with Roger Heron for one year 15 Sept. 1481.

1482. JOHN MIDDLETON; knt.



Quarterly I and IV quarterly gules and gold a cross patonce silver in the first quarter—Middleton, II and III sable crusilly and three covered cups silver—Stryvelin.

Son and heir of Sir John Middleton of Belsay, knighted before 1469, knight of the body to the king, indenture of lease for two years is printed in full RND, pp. 11 and 12, he is to hold castle at his own cost and peril and to receive the profits of the bishop's manors; sheriff of Northumberland 1489. He died 1503.

JOHN SHERWOOD, 1484-94.

1483-97. THOMAS GREY OF CHILLINGHAM, knt.

Arms as 1345. Son and heir of Sir Ralph Grey of the same place, married Margery daughter of Ralph lord

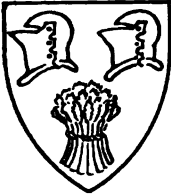
Greystoke; succeeded to his estates 1473, died 1498. He was first appointed, by indenture, for one year, and in 1484 for a further seven years, which was renewed until 1496. In 1483 he was ordered to guard the castle in company with Robert Collingwood.

RICHARD FOX, 1494-1501.

1496. THOMAS GREY, as above.

By patent dated 27 April 1496, in which he is styled "cousin of the bishop," Sir Thomas was appointed for one year.

1501-02. RICHARD CHOLMLEY, *knt.*



Gules in chief two helmets silver, in base a sheaf gold.

He was of a Yorks. branch of an ancient Cheshire family, governor or chamberlain of Berwick *c.* 1498, knighted by Thomas earl of Surrey in Scotland September 1497, said to have fought at Flodden field 1513; when in 1501 the bishop gave up the personal government of Norham he granted a lease of the castle and its liberties, with the consent of the king, to Sir Richard for five years; appointed sheriff and escheator in 1502 by bishop Senhouse, appointed by letters patent a king's justice of the peace in Norham and Islandshires 1501, sheriff of Northumberland 1494, died *c.* 1526.

WILLIAM SENHOUSE, 1502-05.

1502. RALPH GREY OF CHILLINGHAM, *esq.*

Arms as 1345. Son and heir of Sir Thomas (sheriff 1484), entered upon his land 1499, when aged twenty, made knight of the Sword 18th February 1504 at the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales, and knight of the Bath on the same day; died 1507.

CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE, 1507-08.

1507-08. JOHN SWINHOE OF SCREMERSTON, esq.

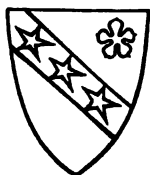


Silver three swine passant sable.

Son and heir of Henry Swinhoe of Rock and Scremerston, aged twenty-four in 1496, married Isabel daughter of Sir William Bowes of Streatlam, died 1517.

THOMAS RUTHALL, 1509-23.

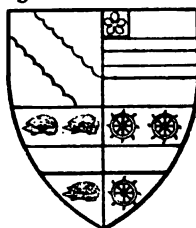
1509-11. JOHN AYNESLEY, esq.



Gules on a bend silver three molets azure, a cinquefoil gold in dexter chief.

He was steward, escheator and coroner in 1507, sheriff during pleasure 1509, J.P. 1509. In 1538 Clement Muscamp, deputy porter of Berwick, said to be "one of the principal murderers of John Aynesley, then captain of Norham."

1512-16. EDWARD RADCLIFFE, knt.



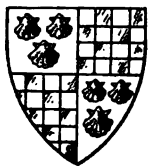
Silver a bend engrailed sable, quartering Derwentwater, Claxton and Cartington.

Sheriff of Northumberland 1499-1501. See AA⁴ xx, pp. 73-74.

1517-20. JOHN OGLE, gent.

Arms as 1403, with due difference. He was the younger son of Ralph third lord Ogle of Bothal, married Sybil Heron, leased Twizell in 1528, served under lord Evers in the Scottish wars, superseded in his offices of sheriff and escheator 1520.

1520-23. PHILIP DACRE, esq.



Gules three escallops silver—Dacre, quartering checky gold and gules—Vaux, with due difference.

He was probably a younger son of Humphrey lord Dacre of Gilsland, his daughter Mabel married Sir Nicholas Ridley of Willimoteswick, he then lived at Morpeth, he was knighted by the duke of Norfolk in Scotland 1523, appointed sheriff and escheator on the supersession of John Ogle 1520, in 1531 he was steward and escheator of Bedlingtonshire.

THOMAS WOLSEY, 1523-29.

1523-24. WILLIAM BULMER the younger, knt.



Gules billety and a lion rampant gold, with due difference.

Appointed sheriff, escheator and keeper of prisons in the two shires, during pleasure; in 1525 he was styled "the younger Sir William Bulmer, captain of Norham."

He was the third son of Sir William Bulmer of Wilton, Cleveland, married Elizabeth daughter and heir of Sir William Elmeden of Elmeden and Tursdale and coheir of Sir William Conyers of Cowton, he had livery of her lands 1508, knighted by the earl of Surrey in Scotland 1497, died 1524.

1525-27. CHRISTOPHER DACRE, knt.

Arms. as 1520, with difference. Appointed sheriff, escheator and coroner in the two shires 17 March 1525; writ of *supersedeas* in these offices 1527. On 20 August 1526 the custody of Norham was leased, during pleasure, to Sir William Dacre, lord Dacre and Greystoke, called lord Dacre of the North, and to Sir Christopher Dacre, knt., jointly. Lord Dacre was son and heir of Thomas lord Dacre, he succeeded 1525, he was captain of Norham 1523, warden of West Marches 1527-34, governor of Carlisle 1534, warden of West Marches 1549-63 and of

Middle Marches 1553-55, died 14 December 1563. Sir Christopher Dacre was a brother of Thomas lord Dacre of Gilsland and uncle of William lord Dacre, he was knighted on Flodden field 9 September 1513.

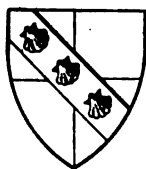
1527-37. HENRY PERCY, earl of Northumberland.

Arms as 1481, quartering Spencer, Old Percy, Poyning, Fitz Payne and Bryan.

On 22 December 1527 he had a lease during pleasure of Norham with all its liberties and rents. On 3 January 1528 he was appointed sheriff, escheator and coroner in the two shires during pleasure and styled captain of Norham castle. He was the sixth Percy earl, married lady Mary Talbot, lord-warden of the East and Middle Marches 1527-37, sheriff of Northumberland for life 1533, K.G., died 1537. Roger Lascelles was the earl's deputy 1528-30.

CUTHBERT TUNSTALL, 1530-59.

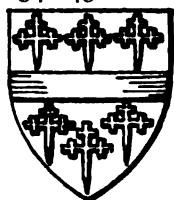
1537. WILLIAM EVERS, knt.



Quarterly gold and gules on a bend sable three escallops silver.

Son and heir of Sir Ralph Evers of Witton, born c. 1483, married Elizabeth Willoughby of Eresby, knighted "after the king came from Mass under his banner in the church of Tournay" 25 September 1513, sheriff of Durham 1519-23, of Northumberland 1526-27, sheriff, escheator and J.P. of Norham (possibly under the earl) 1531, styled "captain of Norham" 1537, lieutenant of the East Marches 1538-47, captain of Berwick 1537, created baron Eure 24 February 1542-43, died 15 March 1547/48.

1540-45. BRYAN LAYTON, knt.



Silver a fess between six crosses-crosslet fitchy sable.

On 31 December 1540 he had a lease from the bishop, for his life, of the constableness of Norham, of all the bailiwicks in the county of Norham and Island and of all its liberties,

rents, etc. He is there styled of "Middleton St. George in the bishopric of Durham." He has not been traced, but he was knighted at Leith by the earl of Hertford "at the burning of Edinburgh on 11 May 1544," where he is called "of Lancashire." He was killed at Ancrum Moor 27 February 1545—

" . . . where Ancrum Moor
Ran red with English blood;
Where the Douglas true and the bold Buccleuch,
'Gainst keen lord Evers stood."

The lord-warden of the Middle March, Sir Ralph Evers was also "piteously slain" there. Cuthbert Layton, Bryan's brother, was appointed temporally, by the bishop, to his brother's offices.

PART IV.—SHERIFFS OF BEDLINGTONSHIRE.

That part of the county of Northumberland which lay between the rivers Blyth and Wansbeck and around the little town of Bedlington, formed, like Norham and Island-shires, a detached part of the royal franchise of the bishops of Durham. It had been part of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert since its purchase, about the year 900, by bishop Cutheard, first of the bishops of Chester-le-Street. It possessed its own coroners and its own courts and officers, the chief of whom seems to have been the steward (*senescallus*) with bailiffs and collectors under him. There is no mention of a separate sheriff until 1530, and the appointment of two only are known (see p. 90). A coroner is mentioned as early as 1293, but no complete list of the names of this nor of the other officers of the "shire" can now be made. In 1475 Sir Henry Percy, knt., was appointed chief steward by bishop Booth; he was succeeded in 1493, under bishop Sherwood, by George Percy, esq. Sir Henry was probably the son of that Sir Ralph Percy who was slain at Hedgely Moor in 1464, and George was

probably the son of a second Sir Ralph Percy and nephew of Sir Henry. The bailiffs, so far as I have been able to find them, were not men of importance, they were only minor officials of whose work no record remains.* By the act of 1536 the separate civil jurisdiction was abolished and merged in that of the county of Durham.

1530-? PHILIP DACRE, knt.

Gules three escallops silver, with difference.

He was appointed by bishop Tunstall in the first year of his pontificate; chief steward of the lordship of Bedlington and Bedlingtonshire and sheriff and escheator in the same. He was the second son of Humphrey first lord Dacre of Gilsland and brother of Thomas second lord Dacre; knighted by the duke of Norfolk in Scotland in 1523.

1546-? THOMAS HILTON, knt.

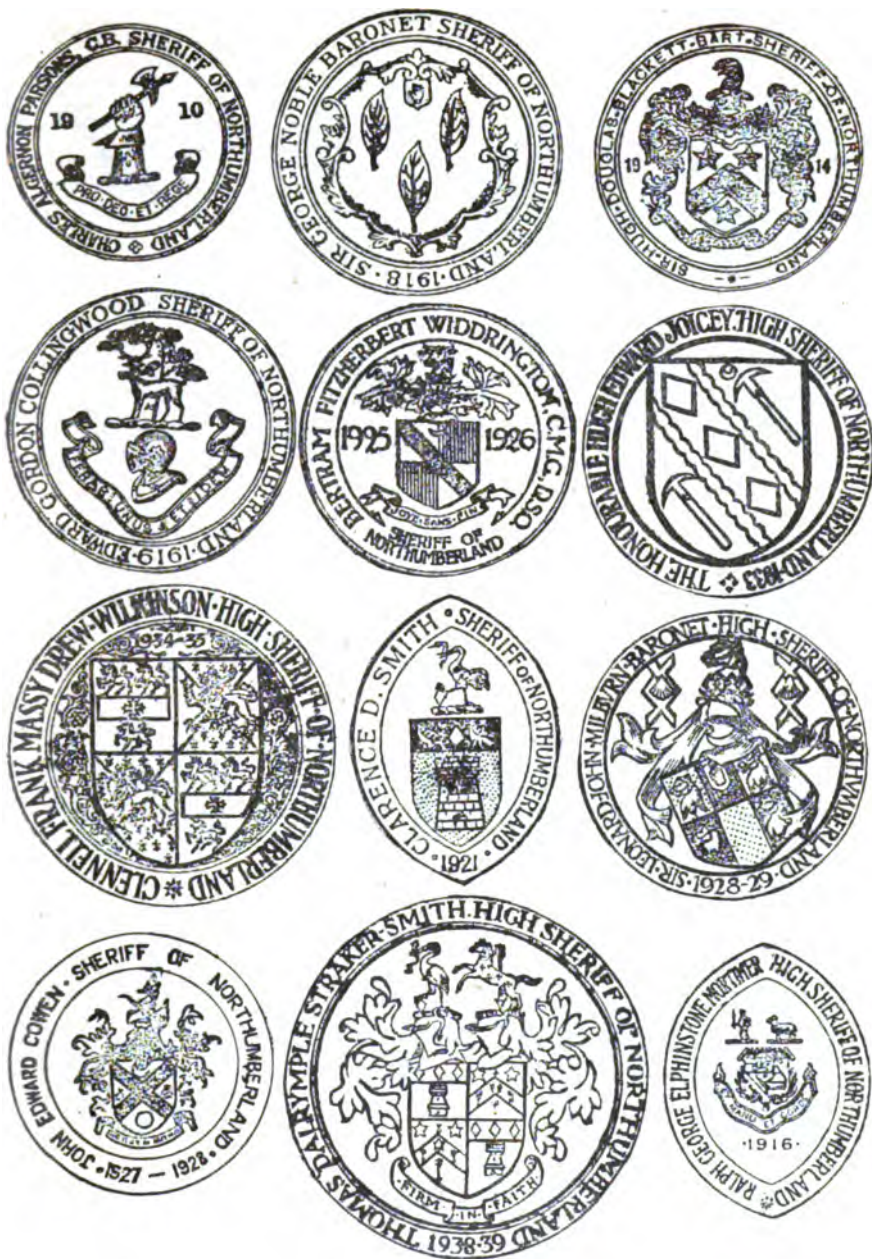
Silver two bars azure.

He was appointed in this year by bishop Tunstall to the same offices as Sir Philip Dacre above. For his life see *Members of Parliament*, AA⁴ XII, p. 125. He was member for Northumberland in 1547, sheriff of Durham 1532-37 and of Northumberland 1543.

* The earliest I have found is Thomas of Willoughby who was bailiff under bishop Bek. A fairly complete list of these officers might be compiled from the Cursitor's Records for the years 1475-1536.



CADWALLADER BATES, 1890, p. 57.



SOME SEALS OF MODERN SHERIFFS.

KEY TO PLATE I.

1. SIR HATTON FARMER. NORTHANTS. 1617.
H.F. at sides, beneath F.G., between the towers his crest of a cock's head rased, in a coronet.
2. WALTER PIGOTT. SHROPSHIRE. 1623.
Armorial, (azure) a chevron between three molets (gold) on a chief ermine three fusils (sable), on a mantled helm crest of a wolf's head rased (silver), at sides W.P., beneath SALOP, reversed.
3. RICHARD TOWNLEY. LANCASHIRE. 1631.
Above castle upon a helmet crest of a hawk close, on his perch, at side N.P., beneath LANC. The N of his name is probably a mistake for R as his name was Richard.
4. SIR WILLIAM SOME. SUFFOLK. 1632.
Between the towers a shield (gules) a chevron between three mallets of (gold), beneath SUFF.
5. MILES HALTON. CUMBERLAND. 1652.
M.H. at sides, beneath CUMBR.
6. THOMAS KYNNERSLEY. SHROPSHIRE. 1653.
Between the towers, crest of a greyhound seated beneath a holly bush, at sides T.K., beneath SALOP.
7. JOHN ACTON. SUFFOLK. 1676. [SUF.
Above castle a shield (silver) a chevron (gules) at sides I.A., beneath
8. CHARLES PELHAM. LINCOLNSHIRE. 1705. [LINC.
Above castle, crest of a peacock in his pride, at sides C.P., beneath
9. RICHARD PHILIPS. SUFFOLK. 1703. [beneath SUFF.
Above castle, crest of a demi-lion rampant crowned, at sides R.P.,
10. JOHN SMITH. SUFFOLK. 1712. [sides J.S., beneath SUFF.
Above castle, crest of a bee flying within a wreath of flowers, at
11. RICHARD WIGGETT. NORFOLK. 1726.
Above castle, crest of a hawk, with bells and jesses, rising.
12. GEORGE SMITH. NORFOLK. 1734.
Above castle, crest of squirrel eating nuts from a hazel bush.
13. JOHN FRERE. SUFFOLK. 1776.
At sides J.F., beneath SUFFOLK.
14. EDWARD TRUSSELL. HAMPSHIRE. 1660. [is 1660.
Above is crest of an ass's head rising from a mural crown, beneath
15. UNKNOWN SHERIFF.
Above is an owl, at sides J.P.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

16. LUKE CLENNELL OF CLENNELL. 1726.
Above is crest of a right arm the hand grasping a baton, at sides L.C., beneath 1726.
17. ADAM ASKEW OF ELLINGTON. 1798.
Above is crest of a right arm and hand holding a dagger upon which a Saracen's head is impaled, at sides A.A., beneath 1798.
18. SIR C. M. L. MONCK OF BELSAY, bt. 1801.
Crest of demi-griffin, at side 1801, beneath C.M.L.M.
19. RALPH BATES OF MILBOURNE. 1812.
Crest of wild man holding a willow wand, at side R.B., beneath 1812.
20. SIR CHARLES LORAIN, bt., OF KIRKHARLE. 1814.
Crest of trunk of a palm tree, at sides C.L., beneath 1814.
21. MATTHEW BELL OF WOOLSINGTON. 1816.
Crest of a hawk close, at sides M.B., beneath 1816.
22. SHAFTOE CRASTER OF CRASTER. 1803.
Crest of a crow upon a wreath, at sides 1803, beneath S.C.
23. EDWARD COLLINGWOOD OF DISSINGTON. 1824. [1824.
Crest of a stag standing in front of a bush, at sides E.C., beneath
24. WILLIAM PAWSON OF SHAWDON. 1826.
Two crests, dexter a buck's head rased, sinister the sun in splendour, at sides W.P., beneath 1826.
25. ISAAC COOKSON OF MELDON. 1838. [1838.
Crest of a demi-lion rampant grasping a club, at side I.C., beneath

No. 1-15 are from casts lent by the Society of Antiquaries of London.





SHERIFF'S BANNER. MATTHEW BELL OF WOOLSINGTON, 1816

II.—STONES FROM A HADRIANIC WAR MEMORIAL ON TYNESIDE.

BY IAN A. RICHMOND AND R. P. WRIGHT.

[Read on 28th October 1942.]

In 1782, the ancient nave of St. Paul's church at Jarrow, which had become ruinous and unsafe, was completely rebuilt.¹ As demolition progressed, numerous Saxon stones² were discovered, but neither workmen nor employers evinced a desire to preserve them. The only relic considered worthy of preservation was the Saxon dedication of A.D. 685, previously exhibited in the north wall of the old nave, near the tower. Balusters and other decorative stones were built into the core of the new walls, while an inscribed stone³ of exceptional interest (see p. 121) was used as a window-jamb. When the rev. John Brand visited⁴ the new works, on 10th December, 1782, most of the fragments were already swallowed up; and it is significant of contemporary indifference to Saxon remains that, although Brand had the inscribed stone freed from surrounding masonry, in order to read it, the stone was again walled into position when the reading had been taken. Only during the complete rebuilding of the nave, in 1866, was this stone, with many others, finally rescued and placed in the north porch of the church.

The operations of 1782-3, however, also yielded another type of stone which attracted more interest. It was observed that the Saxon builders, no less indifferent to antiquity than

¹ Brand, *History of Newcastle*, ii, 62. The Latin inscription recording the completion of the work in 1783 is preserved in the north porch.

² *ibid.*, and p. 64.

³ *op. cit.*, 64.

⁴ *ibid.*

their successors, had employed as building-material Roman inscribed stones. Roman inscriptions were prized by a generation steeped in the classics and well versed in Camden and Horsley. Two fragmentary stones were accordingly rescued⁵ and preserved by Brand, to be acquired on his death by Hodgson,⁶ who later gave them to Cuthbert Ellison⁷ of Hebburn Hall. While one stone, however, was plainly legible, the other was not, and no one suspected that both belonged to the same monument. Thus, in due course, each found a different home, one, now at Burlington House, being presented⁸ to the Society of Antiquaries of London, the other, now at the Blackgate, Newcastle upon Tyne, to this society.⁹ The narrative character of the text on the Burlington House stone had, indeed, already been recognized by Brand, though no modern epigraphist would accept his proposed restoration;¹⁰ but the Blackgate stone was thought¹¹ by him to be part of an altar. The theory that both stones had once formed part of the same inscription was first promulgated by Huebner, who communicated it to Bruce, for publication in *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, 1875, in the form of a Latin narrative sentence.¹² In this sentence, conceived as part of an *allocutio*, the Burlington House stone formed the basis of the first part, while the Blackgate stone supplied the second; and since then it has been generally accepted¹³ that the sentence expressed the

⁵ *CIL* vii, 498a and b; Brand, *op. cit.*, 63, 590.

⁶ Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, part II, vol. iii, 231.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *CIL* vii, 498a; *Lap. Sept.*, no. 538.

⁹ *CIL* vii, 498b; first recorded in *AA*³ i, 248, no. 94; *Lap. Sept.*, no.

539.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*

¹¹ *op. cit.*, 590.

¹² *Lap. Sept.*, no. 539, p. 277: *probabile est commemoratos fuisse exercitus magnos, diffusos per castra in provincia Britannia collocata ad vallum inter utrumque oceani litus, fortasse propter res gestas, quae omnium fidem et virtutem probaverunt, ab imperatore Hadriano collaudatos, dira tantum necessitudine coactos abstinuisse ab ultimo orbis noti limite subiciendo, conservatis tunc r(ei) p(ublicae) finibus—vel similia*. Huebner's published version of the theme varied very slightly, without in any way changing the sense, see *CIL* vii, 498, p. 108.

¹³ Blair, *AA*³ xvii, 4; Collingwood, *AA*⁴ ii, 77.

meaning of the fragmentary text. No really detailed study of the stones themselves has, however, been made, either then or later; it is now overdue.

The Blackgate stone is a slab of medium-grained buff-coloured sandstone, now $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 21 inches wide and 6 inches thick (fig. 1). The bottom has been excellently carved by Saxon masons into a panel, bordered by a cable mould and containing the arms of a cross.¹⁴ The top is



FIG. 1. STONE FROM JARROW NOW IN THE BLACKGATE, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

broken and weathered, while both sides have been coarsely cut down, the dexter side being also much weathered and devoid of its bottom corner. The original Roman lines are thus curtailed at both ends. The surface also has been much damaged by flaking and powdering due to chemical action within the stone itself, now too far gone for remedy (see pl. III, no. 1): and the effect upon the lettering has been to remove some letters completely and to erode

¹⁴ Fully discussed in paper III, p. 121

the sharply-cut lines of others, reducing them to a broad flat furrow in which the only original feature is the heel or deepest part of the cut. But, despite all this irreparable damage, much is yet visible. It can still be seen, for example, that Bruce was mistaken¹⁵ in restoring a cable mould on the existing dexter edge of the inscribed face. The feature thus misinterpreted is in fact a discontinuous series of peckings, roughly made with an adze or similar tool and obviously neither related to the Roman lettering nor an original feature: indeed, they cannot even be connected intelligibly with the Saxon work and seem to represent a still later mutilation of the stone in post-Conquest reconstructions. The upper edge of the stone, on the other hand, still exhibits a portion, some six inches long, of the original edge of the raised border enclosing the Roman inscription, though its outlines are otherwise destroyed. It can thus be said that, whatever the form of the monument once embodying the Blackgate stone, the surviving text comprised part of the first six lines in an inscribed panel. So much defined is something gained.

The Burlington House stone is also a slab of buff-coloured medium-grained sandstone, similar to the Blackgate slab but undisintegrated (fig. 2; pl. III, no. 2). It is now 20½ inches high, 23 inches wide and 5¾ inches thick, the last dimension sufficiently close to that of the Blackgate slab. The bottom is weathered and broken, the sinister side broken and coarsely trimmed where undefaced. The top, on the other hand, is a finely-dressed original bedding-plane.¹⁶ The dexter side is also original, and is bordered by a well-preserved mould, which is not the cable-mould inaccurately drawn¹⁷ by Bruce, but a very low cyma contained by a flat string-mould. The back of the stone is somewhat coarsely dressed but apparently original. Apart,

¹⁵ *Lap. Sept.* 539, p. 277; Gainsford Bruce's drawing, reproduced in 1857 (*AA*² i, 248), did not make the same mistake, though, being in perspective, it does not represent the feature very clearly.

¹⁶ Comparison with the coarse dressing of the re-cut Saxon faces is sufficient to demonstrate the point.

¹⁷ *Lap. Sept.* 538, p. 276.

however, from the fact that the stone was trimmed down to much the same size as the Blackgate stone and was found under the same circumstances, there is no clue to its Saxon use (see p. 121). On the other hand, the Roman inscribed lines are very clear, and the existence of the dexter border shows that the beginning of each is preserved. Further, the finely-dressed top, unprovided with a border, indicates that the stone formed the lower part of a panel composed of several stones. It will be noted also that, since the sizes of lettering do not correspond to those in the Blackgate stone, the stones do not contain portions of the same lines.



FIG. 2. STONE FROM JARROW NOW AT BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON.

If, therefore, the stones once belonged to the same panel, the Burlington House stone must have come second to the Blackgate stone, since the latter is proved to form part of the top of its panel. This disposes of Huebner's suggested arrangement¹⁸ which placed the Blackgate stone second. The relationship of the stones must therefore be studied afresh. The stones themselves are indeed alike, but, since

¹⁸ *CIL* vii, 498a and b.

there is no actual point of contact between them, the case for their association must depend upon demonstrating that their content is complementary. An examination of the text of each thus becomes imperative.

The Burlington House text may be considered first, as being easily legible. It is clearly part of a narrative, and it will be noted that the lettering, though markedly diverse (see below, p. 117), is all of first-class monumental type and of good second-century style. The height of the letters is graded. The topmost line has 3-inch letters, the next two lines $2\frac{3}{4}$ -inch letters, while the fourth and fifth lines have $2\frac{1}{4}$ -inch letters. The sixth line is broken off, and the exact height of its fragmentary letters is not clear, but it approaches $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The spacing and style of the letters also exhibits corresponding differences. The two upper lines are boldly couched in thick broad letters. The next pair of lines contains lettering drafted to a taller and thinner module; and a slight sense of crowding is conveyed by an occasional ligature or by a letter carried above the others in order gracefully to overlap them. The two last lines are definitely crowded: ligatures and overlaps abound in both, and the last line is carried across the margin to the very edge of the die, so as to include the maximum amount of information. The commencement of this line, which has not been previously read, is contributed by Mr. R. G. Collingwood,¹⁹ who observes that the surviving letters (fig. 2) form the words *sub cur[a]*, which in monumental inscriptions²⁰ invariably mark a final subordinate clause indicating the official in charge of the work. In other words, this line marked the close of a narrative of official action; and it may be confidently assumed that the line was lengthened out, as we have already described, in order to contain the

¹⁹ In a drawing and brief notes prepared by him for *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* which the second writer is now completing and editing. Illness, however, has prevented Mr. Collingwood from taking any part in the present inquiry.

²⁰ cf. *CIL* vii, p. 341, where there is an index list of the phrase in well-known British inscriptions.

whole of the never voluminous final phrase. Thus, if the Blackgate stone contains the first line of an inscription, it is now evident that the Burlington House stone contains the last. Further, it becomes clear that the line was not a long one and that we are not dealing with a waif from an inscription of lengthy lines impossible of restoration. This is a point of cardinal importance for the recovery of the text, since it shows that on the greater part of the stones about half the line is still present.

The whereabouts of the action described on the stone are also indicated. *Britannia* is mentioned in the third line, an occurrence so rare that Brand²¹ considered it the most remarkable point on the stone. But a still more specific reference is contained in the words now surviving as *utrumque o*[. . . .]. As all commentators²² on the stone have seen, these words, in a descriptive context applicable to Britain, can only be part of some such phrase as *inter utrumque o*[*ceani litus*]; and on a stone from Tyneside this inevitably connotes not only the Tyne-Solway gap, but the great frontier-wall which spanned it. Indeed, if this were the work commemorated on the stone, it would not be difficult to discern the gist of the inscription. For, bearing in mind that the lettering is of the second century, as already observed, the text could then record nothing but the building²³ of the Wall under Platorius Nepos, whose name and official titles would occupy the closing line. The penultimate line, too, would then contain the name of the units concerned in the work: and since these, as other inscriptions²⁴ collectively attest, comprised virtually the

²¹ *op. cit.*, 590.

²² Brand (*loc. cit.*) suggested *inter utrumque o(stium)*; Hodgson (*Hist. Northumberland*, II, iii, 231) proposed *o(ceanum)*; Huebner *o(ceani litus)*, see *CIL* vii, 498. See also note 45, below. *Oceani litus* is more acceptable, since the ancients did not conceive of more than one ocean.

²³ *CIL* vii, 660-663; *JRS* xxv, 16, xxvii, 247, xxviii, 201; all seven inscriptions mention Platorius Nepos.

²⁴ For legionaries, Eric Birley, *AA*⁴ xvi, 219-236; for auxiliaries, Eric Birley, *AA*⁴ xiv, 238-242 and R. P. Wright, *JRS* xxxi, 143 = *PSAN*⁴ ix, 250-255.

entire garrison of the province, they are fitly covered by the surviving word *exercitus*. The two previous lines might then be interpreted as having contained a brief topographical description of the Wall itself. These points, if such was the theme of the inscription, were indeed of outstanding importance to the British province and to the army concerned. But to the practical Roman mind the outstanding and most laudable²⁵ achievement was not the building of the Wall, but the triumphant repression of the barbarians which made it possible. No contemporary narrative could be expected to omit this victory, and it would in fact be possible to recognize part of an apposite phrase, such as *diffusis* [*barbaris*], in the topmost line. It would be idle, however, to dwell upon the question of phrasing at this stage in the argument. It is sufficient to have appreciated the general characteristics of the existing text, and to have shown that it is not inappropriate to British provincial history of the years A.D. 118-126. The next requirement is a similar analysis of the Blackgate stone, to determine whether there is any discernible correspondence of theme.

It has already been observed (p. 97) that the dimensions of the lettering on the Blackgate stone do not correspond to those on the stone at Burlington House. The letters of the first line are taller than any yet considered, being $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. In the second line the letters are only two inches high, but boldly spaced, while those of the third, fourth and fifth lines are uniformly two inches high but distinctly more crowded. Only in the third line are all the existing letters legible, but it is nevertheless eclipsed in importance by the second. This supplies an immediate clue to the period of the stone, contained in four letters of the name *Hadr[ianus]*. For it is thus certain that the stone refers either to Hadrian or his adopted successor Antoninus Pius, and it must next be considered which of the two is meant. No immediate choice can be made, but a

²⁵ See note 88.

significant phrase is in fact preserved in the next line. This third line was read²⁶ by Huebner and Bruce as . . .]a *necessitat[e]*, and inspection with a strong sidelight leaves no doubt that these letters, though six are much decayed, still exist²⁷ on the stone. Further, the very word *necessitas* and the other legible scraps of words on the stone denote, as Huebner saw, that a narrative²⁸ is in question, and not a dedication as suggested by Brand.²⁹ It is, however, a signally remarkable fact that any narrative concerning either Hadrian or Pius should allude to *necessitas*. For it was not the habit of second-century Emperors or of their subjects to admit any connexion between Imperial policy and necessity. The mordant realism³⁰ of Tiberius or the cruder cynicism³¹ of Vespasian were out of tune with the newer age, and it must be confessed that in Britain itself the forward policy of Antoninus Pius implied no sense of constraint. It will, however, be recollected that Hadrian openly admitted the dominance of necessity in one important and fundamental feature of his policy, and was wont sagely to quote a Republican precedent³² in justifica-

²⁶ CIL vii, 498b; *Lap. Sept.*, p. 277.

²⁷ These letters are N, of which the first upright and the weathered *sulcus* of the cross-bar remain; E, of which the heels of the *sulci* of the two upper cross-bars and the ends of the upright remain; C, of which the weathered *sulcus* of the curved top exists; E, of which the upright remains, together with the weathered *sulci* of the cross-bars; S, visible, but much weathered; S, of which the lower two-thirds appear. The inexperienced viewer of the stone will see little of these signs, owing to its bad condition. We had the advantage of a portable artificial sidelight, and each letter was discussed in detail between ourselves and the rev. T. Romans. We were all agreed upon what could be seen, and made our observations in the full sense of responsibility attached to the realization that chemical action was disintegrating the stone so badly that this might be the last time that a careful examination would yield positive results. Most of the features mentioned here are visible on the accompanying Plate III.

²⁸ *Lap. Sept.*, p. 277.

²⁹ *op. cit.*, 590.

³⁰ Tac., *Ann.* i, 73, iv, 38.

³¹ Suetonius, *Div. Vesp.* 23.

³² SHA, 5, 1, *quare omnia trans Euphraten ac Tigrim reliquit exemplo, ut dicebat, Catonis, qui Macedones liberos pronuntiavit quia tueri non poterant*. Some editors read *teneri* for *tueri*, without changing the essential point of the passage.

tion of his action. He maintained that his frontier policy, like the elder Cato's, was to "free what could not be held"; and Britain has long been recognized³³ as one of the fields where the maxim was drastically applied. There can thus be no doubt that a conjunction of *Hadrianus* and *necessitas* in a British narrative inscription not only fits Hadrian far better than his adopted son, but actually can be taken as reflecting a stated feature of his political programme. Meanwhile, the general significance of the Blackgate stone has emerged from the discussion. It is a narrative concerning Hadrian and the necessary features of his policy, namely, frontier affairs. As in the Burlington House stone, the content is thus particularly appropriate to Tyne-side.

The general similarity of the two stones is now sufficiently self-evident. Both contain narrative texts in second-century lettering of the same monumental style, arranged in varying sizes and spacing. But the subject-matter suggested by the surviving words implies a very much closer correspondence of theme. It connects the Burlington House stone with official action in Britain on the Tyne-Solway isthmus, and the Blackgate stone with an initial statement on Hadrian's frontier policy. Neither stone, indeed, appears to record an *allocutio*, or Imperial address to troops, as Huebner and others suggested.³⁴ Possessive adjectives and verbs in first person singular or second person plural, which appear typical of such an address,³⁵ are entirely absent. Thus, connexion with a narrative rather than a speech becomes yet another feature common to the stones. The probability that the texts are complementary is now obvious; and the argument is clinched

³³ Pelham, *Essays on Roman History*, 161, a masterly statement of the position, taken from his introduction to the English version of Gregorovius's study of Hadrian.

³⁴ Huebner (*CIL* vii, 498) used the word *collaudatos*, without specifically mentioning *allocutio*; Blair (*AA*³ xvii, 4) notes the suggestion; Collingwood (*AA*⁴ ii, 77) definitely uses the word "speech."

³⁵ The famous example is the speech of Hadrian to the army of Africa at Lambaesis, *CIL* viii, 2532 = 18042 = *ILS* 2487.

by the reflection that extended narratives of this kind are so rare³⁶ among Roman military inscriptions that it is far more difficult to think of the stones as separate than as parts of a single text. These are cogent reasons, of great individual and cumulative force, for assuming that the two fragments belong to one inscription, and it now becomes worth while to consider a more exact restoration of each text, a task best begun by returning once again to the Burlington House stone.

The high importance of the last line upon the Burlington House stone for the interpretation of the text has already been stressed. As indicated by the initial phrase, *sub cur[a]*, the line must contain the name of the official responsible for the action which the inscription described. The task in question was a large one, embracing the land from sea to sea—nothing less, in a British Hadrianic inscription, than the building of Hadrian's Wall. The restoration of the final line thus in effect presents no difficulty, for the builder of the Wall is well known to have been Aulus Platorius Nepos, Hadrian's favourite general, whose name and official titles are supplied by monumental dedication-tablets³⁷ from the Wall-forts at Benwell and Halton. Accordingly, the last line is to be read as *sub cur[a A. Platori Nepotis leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)]*. This gives us the approximate length of the line and an invaluable clue to the size of the panel, which will have measured about five feet in width. The penultimate line contains the word *exercitus*. This word is used in contemporary literature³⁸ either for the provincial army as a whole or for an expeditionary force. Here, however, the fact that it is followed by the letters PR, both letters

³⁶ The *allocutio* of Lambaesis is unique (see previous note); but we may compare for form the Claudian orations *CIL* xiii, 1668 = *ILS* 212, and *Pap. B.U.* 611, or the Claudian edicts *Pap. B.U.* 628r and *CIL* v, 5050 = *ILS* 206.

³⁷ *AA*⁴ xiv, 161 (Halton), xix, 19-20 (Benwell) = *JRS* xxvii, 247, xxviii, 201.

³⁸ Tac. *Agricola*, 8 and 17; *Hist.* i, 70, ii, 57, *exercitus Germanicus*, i, 61, *e. inferior*; *Ann.* i, 52, *Pannonicos exercitus*, xii, 32, xiv, 38, xvi, 22.

being damaged but evident, renders the reading *exercitus pr[ovinciae]* certain; and it will further be noted that *exercitus* can here only be taken as a nominative or genitive singular, since provincial armies in the plural were not involved in building the Wall.

From the direct and indirect agents, our survey in ascending order now reaches the work itself, of which the main description is contained in the third and fourth lines, surviving as *Britannia ad[. inter]utrumque o[ceani litus]*. The official titles of the work are fortunately not in doubt. Unofficial Roman literature³⁹ and uncritical modern commentators refer to Hadrian's Wall as *murus*. But epigraphy, the Antonine Itinerary and *Notitia Dignitatum*, derived from official sources, know⁴⁰ the Wall itself as *vallum*, the same word being later applied to its Antonine counterpart, while the frontier as a whole is known as *limes*. *Vallum* or *litem* may therefore be placed with some confidence before the phrase *inter utrumque oceani litus*. The rest of the fourth line will then have contained either a further short qualification or an operative phrase. If, however, an operative phrase occurred at this point, the next line would depend upon it, with *exercitus* in the genitive, as, for example, in the words *fecit opere exercitus provinciae*. But this phrasing, awkward in itself, is rendered conspicuously clumsy by the double genitive. It is therefore desirable to explore the possibility of a further qualification. The nature of so short an addition can hardly be in doubt. The sole outstanding feature of Wall or frontier, susceptible of full yet terse expression and at the same time eminently worth statement, was its length, expressible as *per m(ilia) p(assuum) lxxx*. This addition will admirably fill the space available, controlled by the final line, and it adds a

³⁹ SHA 9, 2, *murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit*.

⁴⁰ CIL vii, 940, "*ob res trans vallum prospere gestas*." *opus valli* is used of the Antonine Wall, *op. cit.*, 1135, 1140. *Itin. Antonini Aug.*, ed. Wesseling, 464, "*a limite, id est, a vallo*." *Not. Dign.*, *Ucc.* xl, 32, "*per lineam valli*."

point which Hadrian's biographer⁴¹ considered fundamental to the description of the work.

There still remains, however, the first part of the third line, commencing *Britannia ad* This fragment presents difficulties. *Britannia* can hardly be in the nominative case, since the province is not to be considered as a direct agent.⁴² The case used must therefore be the ablative, and accordingly governed by a verb or preposition, unless the word is part of an ablative absolute. Secondly, *ad* . . . is unwelcome as a preposition, in view of the numerous prepositions in the phrasing which follows. It is more likely to have been the prefix of a compound verb governing the subsequent clause, in which event *ad[didit]* is virtually the only choice, giving an operative phrase, *ad[didit limitem inter] utrumque o[ceani litus per m.p. lxxx]*. This phrase is complete in itself. But if two further subordinate clauses, represented by the two final lines, are then to be appended, the sentence would lose its brevity of construction. The composition would be greatly helped by restoring the last two lines as a separate sentence, in the form *exercitus pr[ovinciae opus valli fecit] sub cur[a A. Platori Nepotis leg. Aug. pr. pr.]*. It will be recalled that *opus valli*⁴³ is the phrase regularly applied to the actual task of frontier-building on the Antonine Wall. Finally, it will be noted that *limitem* fits the first reference and the spacing better than *vallum*, and is also distinctly preferable in itself as a more balanced and less restrictive description of the numerous works⁴⁴ which composed the frontier.

Returning then to the third line, it is now clear that

⁴¹ SHA 9, 2, *murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit qui barbaros Romanosque divideret*.

⁴² Personifications of the provinces may sometimes take action, but the province itself cannot be conceived as an active agent.

⁴³ CIL vii, 1135, 1140, commemorating the actual erection of the work.

⁴⁴ That is, the Wall-ditch, Wall-forts, and the so-called Vallum, not to mention the out-post forts in the west and the signal-stations of the Cumbrian shore.

Britannia, as an ablative, must be associated with a previous phrase, containing some form of the word *provinc[ia]*, of which the case-ending is lost. The two words could hardly be connected except in an ablative absolute, describing an event preceding the building of the Wall. There is, however, another ablative phrase on the stone. The topmost line commences with the past participle *diffusis*, interpreted by previous commentators⁴⁵ as "scattered," in a geographical or topographical sense, and associated with such phrases as "*diffusis copiis*" or "*diffusis castris*." But the very large letters chosen for this line show that it contained one of the most important phrases on the stone: and the word *diffusis* assumes importance as a statement of Roman policy only if employed in its later classical sense,⁴⁶ developed from *fusis* and meaning "destructively scattered." The phrase required is *diffusis [barbaris]*, previously suggested above (p. 100), which thus emerges as an ablative absolute. The order of construction now demands that the second ablative, represented by *Britannia*, must also have belonged to an ablative absolute clause, for which a verb has to be chosen, with the meaning of "freed," "relieved" or "restored." *Liberata* is too obvious and probably somewhat hyperbolic: *reciperata* would be more suitable, and has the merit of being used, in an almost contemporary source⁴⁷ for the re-establishment of the British province by Suetonius Paulinus after the disaster of A.D. 61, in the laudatory phrase "*reciperatae provinciae gloria*." Thus, step by step, a version is reached of the narrative on the Burlington House stone which has at least the merit of consistency and of suitability to the space available. The whole six lines (fig. 3) would run thus:—*diffusis [barbaris et] | provinc[ia reciperata]!*

⁴⁵ Huebner, *CIL* vii, 498, see note 22, above; Brand thought it meant extended, *op. cit.*, 590; cf. Surtees, *History of Durham*, ii, 68; Hodgson (*loc. cit.*) offers no translation.

⁴⁶ cf. *Amm. Marc.* xvii, 13, 19, *post absumptos paene diffusosque Amicenses petiti sunt sine mora Picenses*. . . .

⁴⁷ Tac. *Agricola*, 5, 4, *summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit*.

*Britannia ad[didit limitem inter]|utrumque o[ceani litus
per m.p. lxxx.]|Exercitus pr[ovinciae opus valli fecit]|
sub cur[a A(uli) Platori Nepotis leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o)
pr(aetore)].*

The Blackgate text may next be considered. No final phrase here provides the starting-point for a treatment in ascending order. Indeed, since the sixth line on the stone is mutilated beyond hope of restoration, we are faced with an inevitable lacuna. But the first line is decipherable, even if it has been diversely restored. Brand⁴⁸ suggested [*pro salute*] *omnium fil[iorum]*, with reference to Hadrian's adopted sons. Huebner thought⁴⁹ that the surviving letters concealed the phrase *omnium fid[em]*. But both these solutions must be rejected. For neither analogy nor the facts of the Hadrianic succession justify Brand's interpretation, which Brand himself⁵⁰ found difficult to uphold; while Huebner based his restoration upon the assumption that this was not an initial line, where his phrase "*omnium fidem*" is inappropriate. Proceeding, then, from the points that the inscription is a narrative, and that it contains Hadrian's name in the second line, it is difficult to see what can have occupied the first line, cut in the largest letters on the stone, except an honorary title applicable to Hadrian. This conclusion considerably narrows the field of choice, and in fact decides the question of the final surviving word; for, since no word related to the stem *fid-* is applicable to an honorary imperial title, *fil[ius]* remains the only acceptable restoration of the fragment. Accordingly, it becomes evident that the title named Hadrian as the son of all the members (*omnium filius*) of a plurality. There is, however, only one plurality of which the Emperor could indisputably and traditionally be called the son, namely, the deified members of the Imperial House, collectively named the *divi*. The initial phrase may thus be restored with virtual certainty as *divorum] omnium fil[ius]*.

⁴⁸ *op. cit.*, 590.

⁴⁹ *CIL* vii, 498b.

⁵⁰ *op. cit.*, 590.

The form of this title is, however, both novel and unique; and is as unexampled in the western provinces as had been the dedication of a temple to the living Claudius in the *colonia* of Camulodunum.⁵¹ But its content must be recognized as the expression of a series of ideas already current in the Roman world. The peculiarity of the title can hardly be said to lie in the expression *divorum filius*. At least as early as A.D. 145, the *divi* were worshipped collectively⁵² by the Arval Brothers. From the Augustan title⁵³ *divi filius*, consistently developed, as the Imperial ancestry gained in weight and distinction, into a pedigree⁵⁴ of several *divi*, the step to a Hadrianic *divorum filius*, where *filius* is used in the sense of descendant, as commonly in Imperial Latin, is a comprehensible development. Indeed, the idea germinates in Roman literature throughout the first century of the Empire. Augustus is designated⁵⁵ as *dis genitus*, as is the Julio-Claudian house⁵⁶ as a whole, Domitian⁵⁷ as *nate deum*, or *magnorum proles genitorque deum*, Domitian's infant son⁵⁸ as *vera deum suboles*. The

⁵¹ The institution was derided in Rome as something native, *Apococynthosis*, 8, 3, *deus fieri vult: parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod nunc barbari colunt, et ut deum orant* *μωροῦ ἐβιλάρον τυχεῖν*. It should, however, be emphasized that the temple was in fact the principal building of the sole Roman *colonia* in the province, regarded by the Britons as *arx aeternae dominationis*. The truth must lie between these two extremes. Nor did the criticism prevent a proposal in the Senate of similar honours for Nero in A.D. 65 (Tac. *Ann.* xv, 74).

⁵² *EE* viii, pp. 332-333 = *ILS* 5038.

⁵³ Adopted in 38 B.C. on coins of Agrippa, Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, ii, 410.

⁵⁴ cf. *CIL* vii, 12, a British example from Chichester recording Nero. For the use of *filius* in the sense of descendant, see *Thesaurus* vi, 1, 757. Vergil, *Aen.* vi, 864, *filius anne aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum*; also *Call. dig.* 50, 16, 220, quoting Papirius, *filiis enim appellatione saepe et nepotes accipi multifariam placere*; also *Aug. loc. nept.* i, 107, p. 523, *filium dici et avi et proavi et ultra maioris alicuius eum qui ex illo propagatur, usitatissimae locutionis est*.

⁵⁵ Vergil, *Aen.* ix, 641-2, *dis genite et geniture deos*.

⁵⁶ Seneca, *ad Marciam de consolatione*, 15, refers to *alii Caesares, qui dis geniti deosque genituri dicantur*, in an obvious extension of the Vergilian phrase to embrace the whole Julio-Claudian house.

⁵⁷ Silius Italicus, *Argonautica*, 625. Statius, *Silvae*, i, 1, 74.

⁵⁸ Martial, *Epigr.* vi, 3; cf. *deorum stirpe genito Caesari*, in Buecheler, *Carmina latina epigraphica*, 1, 20, thought to be of the middle third century.

Roman coinage⁵⁹ recognizes Hadrian as *genius saeculi* and blazons forth the processive divinity of the Emperor by bestowing the Sun-god's radiate crown on every living Emperor, excepting the reactionaries Galba and Nerva, from Nero to Trajan; and the intimate connexion between Apollo and the Emperors is stressed under Hadrian by the Giessen papyrus.⁶⁰ Even a reactionary constitutionalist, jealously observant of the distinction made between living man and god by Roman conservative tradition, could take little exception to the phrase *divorum filius*. But the enlargement of the phrase to *divorum omnium filius* introduces other trains of thought. The conservative politician might, indeed, have excused the epithet as intended to link the reigning Emperor processively with the whole company of *divi*, as opposed to the adoptive connexion with Nerva and Trajan regularly asserted by Hadrian. But he could not have been unaware that to the less restrained and less critical public the phrase *divorum omnium filius* inevitably suggested a wider connexion, with the Twelve Olympian deities known as the Πάντες Θεοί. This type of connexion was, indeed, already current⁶¹ in the Hellenistic world. First heroes⁶² and then such rulers⁶³ as Philip I and

⁵⁹ Mattingly, *BMC* i, clxxi (Nero); ii, xliii (Vespasian and Titus), 355 and *passim* (Domitian); iii, xciii (Trajan), 352 and *passim* (Hadrian). Medallions in gold (Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC* ii, pl. 13, 239) and bronze (Gnecchi, *I medaglioni romani*, iii, tav. 147, no. 3) figure Hadrian as *genius saeculi*, framed by the signs of the zodiac. As Strack (*Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, ii, 107) remarks, the connexion of this representation with the doctrine of the Triskaidekatos Theos is clear.

⁶⁰ Kornemann, *Klio*, vii, 278-288; the point that Apollo's role is virtually reduced to that of Imperial harbinger is due to the acute observation of Mrs. Strong, *Apotheosis and Afterlife*, 91.

⁶¹ Nock, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xlviii, 22ff., has a valuable discussion and summary of the evidence.

⁶² Cos, Charmylus the eponymous hero, Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 349; Xanthus, Harpagides, Weinreich, *Lyk. Relig.* 15ff.

⁶³ Philip I, at Aegae (*Diodor.* xvi, 92, 95), σύνθρονος ἐαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντες τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς. This is regarded by Hammond as historically worthless (*Class. Quart.* xxxi, 91); but there is no doubt about Eumenes II, at Eleia, σφεαργήσας τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν καὶ θεοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους (Dittenberger, *OGI* 332, 27) or Antiochus I of Commagene, who is described as σύνθρονος (*op. cit.*, 383). Vallois, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, liii, 247ff. describes the statue-bases at Delos in the ἀγορὰ θεῶν.

Eumenes II had been attached, or had even joined themselves, to the Twelve Gods, while equestrian statues of Antigonos and Demetrius could dominate the Delian ἀγορὰ θεῶν. The idea of divinity achieved through service⁶⁴ was fundamental in Cicero's religious thought and is used by Horace: while Augustus and Agrippa had both toyed with the same idea, the former⁶⁵ indiscreetly in a banquet, the latter⁶⁶ in his scheme for dedicating the Pantheon. The Hellenic world was even more outspoken. At Cyzicus, the fact that Hadrian, as Triskaidekatos Theos, took the dominant place⁶⁷ among the Twelve Olympians made a deep impression. At Athens Hadrian, and at Megara Hadrian and other earlier Emperors, are also associated⁶⁸ with the

⁶⁴ Cicero, *Somn. Scip.* 26, *bene meritis de patria quasi limes ad caeli aditum patet*; or *De Nat. Deor.* ii, 62; Horace, *Odes*, iii, 3.

⁶⁵ Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 70, *cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit quae vulgo δωδεκάθεος vocabatur, in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apolline ornatum*. It has been suggested, with some force, that Julius Caesar had the same ideas in regard to Jupiter (*JRS* vi, 37): but this evidence is open to other interpretations (*JRS* vi, 177 sq.).

⁶⁶ Dio Cass. liii, 27, τὸ τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε . . . ἡβουλῆθῃ μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἰδρῦσαι τὴν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπικλησὶν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον, ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἐν δὲ τῷ προνώμῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἐστῆσε. It is not generally appreciated (cf. even Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Anc. Rome*, 382) that Dio must be describing the Pantheon of the Hadrianic age, since he refers to the building as *θολοειδὲς οὖν*, which Agrippa's building was not (Colini, *Bull. Comunale*, 1927, 67ff., whence von Gerkan, *Gnomon*, 1929, 227 and plan, 274). Thus, despite the abnegation of Augustus, the building had in fact become a sort of Pantheon in the Parisian sense, and it may be presumed that Hadrian had retained the older decorative scheme in part. Hence the two niches in his portico, presumably for statues of Augustus and Agrippa. For other details not retained, see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi, 38. The huge size and importance of the Hadrianic building is appreciated best by comparing the superimposed plans, separated by a century in the growth of the Imperial idea (cf. *Gnomon*, loc. cit.)

⁶⁷ Cyzicus, Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 23. Κυζικηνοὶ δὲ τρισκαίδεκατον θεῶν Ἀδριανὸν ἀνηγόρευσαν. Weinreich, in Roscher's *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, s.v. Zwölfgötter, thinks that Hadrian here was represented as Zeus, but the literary sources to which he refers do not specifically say so.

⁶⁸ Pausanias, i, 3, 2, describing the *στοὰ βασιλείος* in the Cerameicus at Athens, ἐνταῦθα ἐστῆκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός . . . στοὰ δὲ οὐκ ὀρθρὴν ὑποδομῆται γοαφὰς ἔχουσα θεοῦ τοῦ δώδεκα καλουμένου. We owe this reference to Dr. Jocelyn Toynbee. cf. Pausanias, i, 40, 2, on the shrine of Artemis at Megara, ὁ γαῖόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν εἰκόνες δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστᾶν ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἀγάλμα κέται χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος. cf.

Divine Twelve. Older temples were also appropriated⁶⁹ to the Emperors. Even in Rome itself Hadrian's rebuilding of the Pantheon,⁷⁰ serving sometimes as his Court and by him designed to the round plan associated not only with the universality of the *Πάντες Θεοί* but with world-dominion, expresses his own interest in such processive ideas. No more outspoken declaration was possible in Rome, where Republican ideas still leavened political thought. But the western provinces contribute a small and significant group⁷¹ of Antonine and later dedications to *Pantheus Augustus*, mostly erected by officials and *seviri Augustales*, which are indubitably to be linked with the same development.⁷² Thus it cannot be said that any aspect of the title *divorum omnium filius* was at all foreign to Roman thought of Hadrian's day, whether *filius* is taken in adoptive or processive sense. Further, although the title as restored is unique, it will be recollected that it occurs in a remote province, which was especially indebted⁷³ to Hadrian for both defence and civic development, and where bold experiments had already been made in Emperor-worship. Here, too, the official cult of

Pausanias, viii, 19, 1, on the township of the Arcadian Cynaetheans, *καὶ σφίσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πεποιήνται μὲν θεῶν βωμοὶ πεποιήνται δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως εἰκὼν*.

⁶⁹ At Olympia the Metrōon (Pausanias, v, 20, 9) and the Treasury of Cyrene (*id.* vi, 19, 10); at Delphi an unnamed Treasury (*id.* x, 8, 6). The statue of Hadrian in the Athenian Parthenon is also worth note (*id.* i, 24, 7).

⁷⁰ SHA 19, *Romae instauravit Pantheon . . . propriis auctorum nominibus consecravit*. Dio Cass. lxxix, 7, *καὶ ἐδίκασε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τότε μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε πανθέῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαχόθεν*.

⁷¹ CIL vi, 559, of Antonine date, by a delegation from Barcino; viii, 14690, for the health of Caracalla and Iulia Domna; ii, 1165, by a *sevir Augustalis* at Gades; ii, 3030, by a *sevir Aug.* at Complutum; v, 3279, by C. Salvius Verecundus, bearing a libertine name, at Verona. It is worth while in this connexion to recall the bestowal of the title Panthea upon the deceased Livia Drusilla, Dio Cass. lix, 11, *τότε οὖν Πανθεά τε ὠνομάζετο καὶ τιμῶν δαιμονίων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἤξιοτον*.

⁷² Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 224-225, commenting upon the cession of the thunderbolt to Trajan by Jupiter; an event incidentally anticipated on the coinage of Domitian (*BMC* ii, xciv), though it was no doubt not thought politic to say so.

⁷³ The debt of the civil province to Hadrian has only recently been fully recognized, see Collingwood, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 1951.

the *domus divina*⁷⁴ is manifested earlier and as consistently as in any other western province. Thus, we can add to the analysis of the title the statement that it emerges in well-prepared soil.

The second line returns to normality, and will have contained the customary titles [*imp(erator) Caesar Traianus] Hadr[ianus Aug(ustus)]*. When both lines are considered together, however, it will be seen that there is not room in the second line for the usual statement of adoptive divine ancestry, a point which implies that something of the kind must have been stated, abnormally, in the previous line. The interpretation given above thus wins support from an unexpected quarter.

The third line contains the phrase . . .] *a necessitat[e]*, restored by Huebner⁷⁵ as [*dir*] *a necessitat[e]*. The ablative form is in itself likely, but before considering the phrase further, it should be recollected that the association of Hadrian and *necessitas* requires a statement of policy, in which *dira necessitate* is most unlikely, *necessitas* being enough in itself. The next line reads . . .] *vati* *ino pr* . . . , with space for four letters, or a stop and three letters, between the first two fragments. There is no trace of *s* after . . . *vati*, as drawn⁷⁶ by Bruce; and the suffixes and case-endings, as they stand, suggest a participial termination in the genitive followed by an adjectival suffix with dative or ablative case-ending. This would fit well enough with the qualitative genitive which might be expected to follow *necessitas*, to which in turn an ablative of attendant circumstances would also form an appropriate sequence. As already observed, however, the primary political necess-

⁷⁴ The cult of the *domus divina* appears at Chichester under Cogidumnus (*CIL* vii, 11), where it is repeated in a later inscription (*JRS* xxvi, 264). It recurs at Petuaria under Antoninus Pius (*JRS* xxviii, 199). These are both cantonal centres where Romanization was strongest and the point deserves stress. Von Domaszewski observes that in the Rhineland the cult begins with Pius and is strongest in the third century (*Abhandl. z. röm. Religion*, p. 153, note 1).

⁷⁵ *CIL* vii, 498.

⁷⁶ *Lap. Sept.* 598.

ity admitted by Hadrian and rigorously applied by him to Britain was the curtailment of the Imperial frontiers (p. 102): and his biographer⁷⁷ has recorded the apothegm by which he commonly justified the action. This, however, was the echo⁷⁸ of a speech or conversational quip. A historian's explanation had been anticipated by Tacitus⁷⁹ as "*addideratque (Augustus) consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*"; and the point had already occurred in his *Agricola*,⁸⁰ in the form "*longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum.*" It is evident that the official reason offered for the rejection of a forward policy was the counsel of Augustus. Nor is it now difficult to perceive the drift of the fragmentary ablative phrase: the restoration [*div*]ino *pr[ae]cepto* fits the space and neatly states the official plea. The implicit justification is indeed seen to be complete when the context of the phrase is recalled. The *divorum omnium filius* acts *divino praecepto*, in accordance with the fixed policy of the *divi*. The expansionist indiscretions of Trajan, as yet in his novitiate amid the company of Heaven, are eclipsed and transcended by the consensus of divine wisdom which Hadrian interprets.

The commencement of the clause so auspiciously ended, has, however, yet to be discussed. Granted the order of the final words, in genitive and ablative cases, the relationship between Hadrian and *necessitas* must have been ex-

⁷⁷ *SHA*, 5, 1, see note 33 above.

⁷⁸ It is worth note that the quotation of precedent was something of a feature in Imperial speeches, cf. Claudius, *CIL* xiii, 1668; Augustus, Suetonius, *Div. Aug.*, 89, and the burlesque of his manner in *Apocolocyntosis*, 10; and Hadrian himself, *CIL* viii, 2532, 18042, and the remarks of P. J. Alexander, *Harvard Class. Studies*, xlii, 1938, 173.

⁷⁹ *Ann.* i, 11; Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römische Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, ii, 42, suggests that the sneers of *Ann.* i, 7, conveyed by the phrase *senilis adoptio*, may well have a topical reference to the events of A.D. 117; to which Mattingly, *BMC* iii, cxxvii, note 2, acutely adds *uxoris ambitus*, with reference to Plotina. If these references, however, are to be recognized as topical, why not those to provincial policy also, where there was an equally striking parallel, in the change to static frontiers?

⁸⁰ *Agricola*, 13, 3.

pressed at the very beginning of the third line. If a preposition had been employed, *ex* would have been the likeliest choice; while no preposition would be required if a passive verb were used. But the easiest, and by far the most discreet, mode of expressing an idea which emphatically demanded tactful statement, would be to represent the point as circumstantial, by means of an ablative absolute. This solution wins some support from the fact that the surviving -a, preceding *necessitat-*, would fall into place as a case-ending in agreement with *necessitat[e]*. The sense and space available would require some such phrase⁸¹ as [*imposit*]a *necessitat[e]* *div*]ino *pr[aecepto]*. As for the intervening words, the phrase in the genitive following *necessitat[e]* must contain *imperii*, in agreement with a past participle ending in -vati: and in the space at disposal such a restoration⁸² as *imperii intra fines conservati* cannot be far from the mark (fig. 3).

The fifth line, as now preserved, opens with the date [*c*]o(n)s(ul) II, but the remaining letters are altogether obscure. The date, however, is of importance, partly because the reading is itself new and partly because this consulship of A.D. 119 is known to have marked Hadrian's first active intervention in the affairs of the British province. A military disaster had attended his accession, in August, A.D. 117. The biography records only the native turbulence, in the words "*Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant*," and a passing phrase⁸³ refers only to heavy attendant casualties, in the words "*avo vestro im-*

⁸¹ For this use of *necessitas* with *imponere*, cf. Cic. *ad Att.* iv, 5, 2, *ego mihi necessitatem volui imponere huius novae coniunctionis*; also Caes. *B.C.* iii, 77, *si qua esset imposita dimicandi necessitas*. It is used also in an Imperial edict *Pap. B.U.* 628r. *imposita quadam necessitate* (see Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani* (1909), p. 252, line 2). For the use of the past participle instead of the gerund, cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii, 64, *necessitudinem . . . festinati . . . reditus*, where *necessitudo* is synonymous with *necessitas*. The contrast between *necessitas* and human agency is brought out by Cicero, *pro Ligario*, 17, *humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata*.

⁸² cf. Tac. *Ann.* i, 11, *consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*.

⁸³ Fronto, *Epistulae*, ed. Naber, p. 217, ed. Loeb, ii, 22.

perium optinente, quantum militum a Britannis . . . caesum." The additional inference, that heavy destruction or disgrace, or both, then befell the Ninth Legion, based upon York, is based upon its disappearance⁸⁴ from history after A.D. 108 and its replacement by the Sixth Legion under Hadrian. The substitution, however, is normally dated⁸⁵ to A.D. 122, and during the intervening years, covered by the governorship⁸⁶ of Quintus Pomponius Falco, the fighting strength of the provincial army was made up by a combined force⁸⁷ of three vexillations, each a thousand strong and each drawn from a separate German legion but brigaded together under Titus Pontius Sabinus. The victorious recovery then rapidly achieved is indicated by contemporary coins,⁸⁸ issued in A.D. 119, bearing the legends *Britannia*, *Iuppiter Victor* and *Roma Victrix*. Finally, the work of consolidation was cemented by a personal visit⁸⁹ of Hadrian to the province, *in qua multa correxit*.

⁸⁴ Formulated by Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (ed. Dickson, 1886), i, 1888, note 1.

⁸⁵ Ritterling, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, xii, 1, 1289-90 and xii, 2, 1606, is uncertain whether this occurred before A.D. 125; but the question is settled by the new inscription from Halton (*JRS* xxvii, 247 = *AA*⁴ xiv, 161) which attests the presence of legio VI under Platorius Nepos. This agrees with von Domaszewski's acute observation (*Abhandl. z. röm. Religion*, 20-21) that the altars to Neptune and Oceanus, set up by the Sixth Legion on the *pons Aelius* at Newcastle upon Tyne, probably commemorated the erection of the bridge where river and tides met. It is preferable to R. Mowat's interpretation (*AA*³ xxv, 137; cf. Bosanquet, *Northumberland County History*, xiii, 543-5).

⁸⁶ *JRS* xx, 21; confirming Atkinson, *JRS* xii, 61, 65.

⁸⁷ *CIL* x, 5829, *praepositus vexillationibus miliaris tribus expeditione Britannica, leg. VII gemin., VIII Aug., XXII Primig.*; also auxiliaries, cf. *CIL* xi, 5632, *electus a divo Hadriano et missus in expeditionem Britannicam*, of the well-known M. Maenius Agrippa.

⁸⁸ Since the summary of numismatic evidence in *CW*³ xxii, 384, the detailed researches of Strack and Mattingly have altered the picture. The relevant legends are now considered by Mattingly to be *Britannia*, *Iuppiter Victor*, and *Roma Victrix* of A.D. 119. Strack (*op. cit.*, 71) still thinks that *Concordia* is to be referred to the joint operations of British and continental drafts; but, as Mattingly points out (*BMC* iii, clxv, note 1), *Concordia* is not normally invoked in this sense either on coins or inscriptions (cf. *Val. Max.* i, 8, 17).

⁸⁹ *SHA* 5, *Britanniam petiit* (contrast *BMC* iii, cxliv, placing *adventus* type late). The date of the visit has been accepted as A.D. 122 since Duerr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 36.

These, then, were the outstanding events which fell between the second consulate mentioned in the last legible phrase on the Blackgate stone, and the state of peace

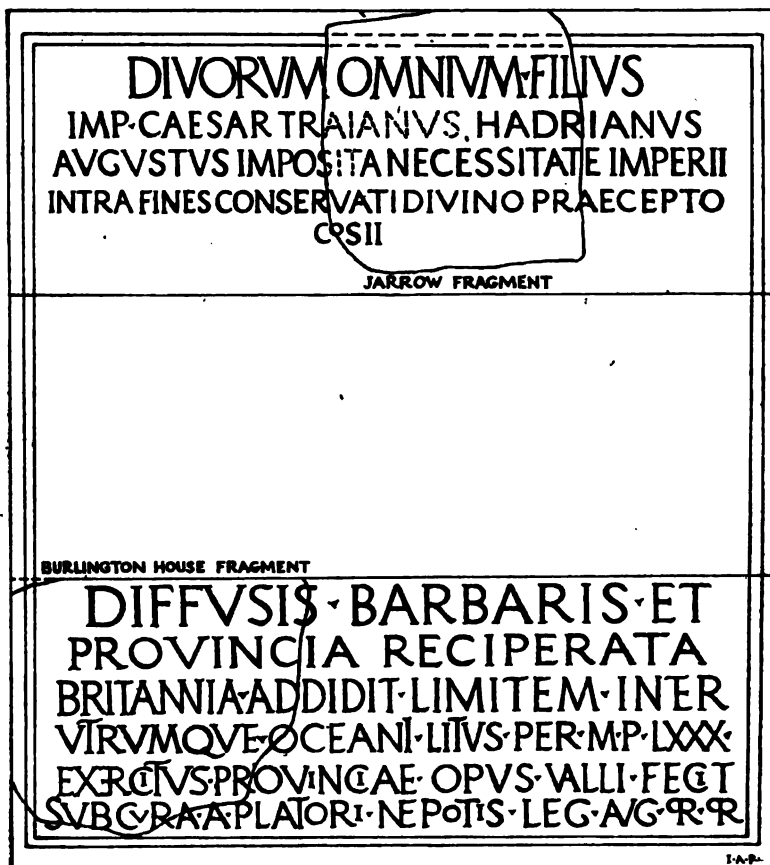


FIG. 3. THE BLACKGATE AND BURLINGTON HOUSE STONES COMBINED IN A RESTORED TEXT.

followed by the building of the Wall, recorded in the first words of the Burlington House stone. Even if they were recounted with authentic Imperial brevity, as in the existing text, their recital can hardly have occupied much less

than six lines, that is to say, a stone of the same size as those already discussed. This stone is now lost. But its existence would provide an abundant reason for the division of the slab into separate units: for the whole panel would thus be roughly six feet high, a height too great for a single slab if it were to be correctly bedded, but readily attainable in three two-foot units. It may be further observed that such units are in harmony with the coursing of Roman monumental buildings, and that the church at Jarrow still exhibits several Roman blocks of this dimension employed as Saxon quoins and also re-used in the Norman tower.

A final point of design is to be observed (fig. 3). The lettering on each slab is grouped with remarkable diversity of style in different sizes and spacing. But the recovery of the general sense and composition of the text makes possible an appreciation of the arrangement. The very large but tight lettering of the first line, boldly asserting the Emperor's divine lineage, dominated the whole panel with almost the symbolic value of a cartouche: while in the second line his constitutional appellation, though widely spaced and readily legible, is deliberately dwarfed by the proclamation of divine ancestry immediately above it. Next follows the statement of policy, closely packed but not crowded, forming a mass of solid fact to be apprehended by the careful attention due to the "*arcana imperii*." The central portion of the panel, probably amounting to six lines, has vanished; but it is both anticipated and echoed by the lettering of the stones in our possession. It may be thought that the victory proclaimed by the missing text dominated the middle of the panel in the most prominent lettering of all. For just as the theme on the first stone opens with an assertive chord, and then devolves through the generous punctuation of the Imperial name into even scoring, so, on the final stone, the treatment is already passing into tranquil rhythm from the bolder first lines which must themselves echo a no less massive rendering

of victory. The emphasis is then cleverly sustained until the end by manipulation of the spacing. The achievements of victory, and the building of the Wall which reinforced them, were recounted in a flowing group of tall and almost crowded lettering, where the initial word *Britannia* forms the link between the two modes. Finally, the packed and crowded closing lines balance but in no way compete with the topmost line in the panel. Their function is to proclaim in lengthier phrase, but no less hieroglyphic style, the secondary agents in the work; and the effect of the crowded massing is to bring the theme gently to rest. The composition of the lines is thus shown to be intimately related to their content and to form a strong and subtle bond of unity between the stones. The inflected language, devoid of punctuation, offers particular scope for richly developed treatment of this type in a lengthy inscription. But few British inscriptions are long enough to permit such an analysis.

The significance of the stones from Jarrow is thus now revealed, despite the fact that a considerable lacuna is shown to exist in the text as preserved. They contained, as Huebner thought, an account of Hadrian's military achievement in Britain, though not in the form of an *allocutio*.⁹⁰ The narrative text began with a statement of policy, justified by Imperial tradition and astutely linked with established worship. The central portion, now wholly missing, dealt with the achievement of victory. The final section, best preserved of all, described the consolidation marked by the erection of frontier barriers which still rank among the famous monuments of the world. There can thus be little doubt to what type of monument the inscription itself belonged. A stone dealing with a complete cycle of historical events, culminating in the establishment of an entire defensive line, is inapplicable to any single part of the mural works. So comprehensive a statement can have graced only an independent war-memorial or *tropaeum* of a size com-

⁹⁰ *CIL* vii, 498, see note 34, above.

mensurate with the monumental proportions of the inscription. Apart from this, however, the stone gives little clue to the form of the monument, whether round and massive, like Trajan's enormous war-memorial at Adamklissi,⁹¹ tall and ethereal, like the Augustan *tropaeum* at La Turbie,⁹² or lofty and oblong like Domitian's monument at Richborough;⁹³ though the proportions of the panel do in fact suggest a design running to height rather than width. The site of the monument is also unknown. But there are factors which narrow the choice. It was surely associated with the eastern end of the frontier which it commemorated, and lay near enough to Jarrow⁹⁴ to be a ready source to the Saxon builders of large worked stones. The selection of the site would be further limited by the general principle observed in placing *tropaea*: as Servius⁹⁵ remarked, in discussing such matters, the ideal site lay "*in colle, quia tropaea non figebantur nisi in eminentioribus locis.*" This consideration rules out the lowly position of Jarrow itself; while Wallsend, though chosen for the eastern terminus of the Wall on account of its double command of the Long Reach and Bill Reach on the Tyne, dominates the river rather than the surrounding landscape. No outstanding eminence in fact occurs on this sector of the frontier-line except at the river-mouth; and the sea-coast is indeed a site appropriate enough for a monument commemorating a work which stretched "*inter utrumque oceani litus.*" Here

⁹¹ Tocilescu, Benndorff and Niemann, *Das Monument von Adamklissi, Tropaeum Traiani*; cf. Furtwängler, *Abhandl. d. k. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Classe I, vol. xxii, section iii, 455, *Das Tropaion von Adamklissi und provinzialrömische Kunst*, and Studniczka, *Abhandl. phil-hist. Classe k. Sächs. Gess. d. Wissensch.* xxii, iv, *Tropaeum Traiani*.

⁹² Benndorff, *Jahresh. d. Ost. Arch. Inst.* vi, 1903, 264; Formigé, *C.R. Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1910, p. 510, also Casimir, *La trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie*, p. viii.

⁹³ Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Richborough*, i, 6-7; ii, 10-13; iii, 19-20.

⁹⁴ It is worth while to compare the contemporary masonry of Monkwearmouth, where Roman stones were relatively scarce, with that of Jarrow where they are abundant, as also at Escomb. The implication is that at Jarrow the Roman site was within easy reach, though probably not, as Surtees thought, at Jarrow itself.

⁹⁵ On *Aen.* xi, 6.

there are two possible positions. On the south side of the river the Lawe at South Shields was crowned by a fort, guarding like Arrian's Phasis⁹⁶ the port which lay at its feet. This site commands a fine southward view, but the summit is occupied by the fort itself, and any monument situated on the hill would thus lack the isolation ideally required. The north bank of the river offers a loftier and much more conspicuous position, then free from encumbrances but now occupied by the superb ruins of Tynemouth Priory. An unfettered choice would almost certainly have fallen upon this site, but no confirmation of the point is obtainable. Finally, it is not unlikely the monument was duplicated on the Cumbrian shore.⁹⁷ There is no reason to think that one end of the Wall was more important in Roman eyes than the other, and the fact that both ends are mentioned on the inscription would lend support to a twin design.

⁹⁶ Arrian, *Periplus* (ed. Teubner, 1928), 9, 3-4.

⁹⁷ In this connexion attention should be drawn to the altar *CIL* vii, 940, from Kirksteds, on the prominent ridge a mile south of Kirkandrews upon Eden. It has been cut down, after Roman times, and the name of the deity to which it was dedicated has been lost in the process. But the dedicator is no less a personage than the legate of the Sixth Legion, who set up the altar *ob res trans vallum prospere gestas*. Thus, the altar itself is a sort of trophy, and it would be as likely to be associated with an official monument as with a local shrine, which is the alternative. For the association of shrines and *tropaea*, see Strabo, *Geogr.* iv, 1, 11, of Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, *καὶ ἔστησε τρόπαιον αὐτῷ λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ νεὺς δύο τὸν μὲν Ἀρεως τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους*.



1



2

INSCRIPTION FROM JARROW AT THE BLACKGATE (fig. 1)
AND BURLINGTON HOUSE (fig. 2).

III.—THE INSCRIPTION ON THE JARROW CROSS.

BY WILHELM LEVISON.

[Read on 29th July 1942.]

When the ancient nave of the church of St. Paul at Jarrow was pulled down in 1782 for a new building, some inscriptions were taken out of its walls. There were two fragments of a Roman monumental inscription of Hadrianic date, two inscribed slabs recording the dedication of the church in 685, and the stone here considered (pl. IIIA). It is now built into the north porch of the modern nave and exhibits the shaft of a cross set amid an inscription of four lines, so that four or five letters of each line lie upon either side of the shaft. The arms of the cross, but not the head, are to be found on the edge of one of the Hadrianic fragments mentioned above, now in the Blackgate, which had evidently rested upon the other stone.¹ The inscription with letters on both sides of the cross (pl. IIIA) may be compared with that of the tombstone of the Presbyter Herebericht of Monkwearmouth, where the words are beginning at the head of the shaft. The Jarrow stone may have had there the letters A and Ω of the Apocalypse or some symbolical ornaments; for the inscription occupying only the lower part, is complete, except the end of the second line, where two or three letters are destroyed and have been the subject

¹ J. R. Boyle, *Arch. Ael.* ³ x, p. 210, cf. 196, and others who follow him. Cf. J. C. Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 277.

of some controversy :³

I N H O	C S I N
G V L A	R I :::
N O V I	T A R E D
D I T V R	M V N D O

that is : *In hoc singulari [sig]no vita redditur mundo*, "In this unique sign life is restored to the world."

The restoration as [SIG]NO was suggested by W. T. Southward,³ but bishop Browne and others preferred that of the first editor, Brand : [AN]NO, and thought of the year of the dedication of the church, a year marked by the cessation of a plague, and of a stone erected "in pious memory of deliverance from the pestilence." Browne later changed his opinion and accepted *signo* :⁴ Southward was right indeed, and not far from the truth in hinting at the famous vision of a cross which Constantine the Great is said to have seen before his victory over Maxentius in 312, and at the words connected with it, as they are usually quoted : "*In hoc signo vinces*." The original tradition has only *τοῦτο νικά*, "*in hoc vince*"; but there exist Roman and African inscriptions reproducing on the side of a cross or of the monogram of Christ these very words :⁵ "*In hoc signo*. Sirici, [vinces]," "*In hoc signum semper vinces*," "*[In h]oc signum vincimus inimic[os]*," "*In hoc signum semper viv[es]*," and coins of Emperor Vetrano (A.D. 350-351) show the labarum and the legend : "*Hoc signo victor eris*."

³ Aem. Huebner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, no. 199; G. F. Browne, *Camb. Antiq. Comm.* vi (1884-88), Cambridge 1891, pp. 7-9, and *Arch. Ael.*³ xi, pp. 27f., 32; J. R. Boyle, *The County of Durham*, London 1892, p. 588; J. E. Hodgkin, *Durham*, London 1913, pp. 173f.; H. E. Savage, *Arch. Ael.*³ xxii, p. 35, and the local guide-books by J. Dudfield Rose, *Jarrow Church and Monastery*, 2nd ed., pp. 24, 38-44, and James Booth, *The Story of the Old Church and Monastery Jarrow*. Gloucester and London 1933, pp. 47, 49.

⁴ *Camb. Antiq. Comm.*, loc. cit., p. 9; *Arch. Ael.*³ xi, p. 32.

⁵ *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, London 1896, rev. ed., 1906, pp. 207, 229-32. *Signo* was also accepted by C. C. Hodges, *The Vict. Hist. of Co. Durham* i, p. 234.

⁶ Ernestus Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres* i, Berlin 1925, no. 1620-23; cf. no. 1544-45.

There is more. Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (ix, 9, §10-11) tells of a statue erected in Rome in honour of Constantine after the battle of Pons Mulvius; the victorious emperor had the "salutary sign" in his right hand, and a pertinent inscription was added by his order; Eusebius inserts the wording in Greek translation. There is no need here to dwell on the controversies referring to this tradition, to its reliability and meaning;⁶ for Eusebius' work was known in the west during the Middle Ages only by the free Latin translation and continuation written in the beginning of the fifth century by Rufinus of Aquileia. Here is his version of the said passage:⁷

Statim denique, ubi imagines sibi ob honorem triumphanti senatus erexit, vexillum dominicae crucis in dextera sua iubet depingi et subter adscribi, quia: "*In hoc singulari signo, quod est verae virtutis insigne, urbem Romam senatumque et populum Romanum iugo tyrannicae dominationis ereptam pristinae libertati nobilitate restitui.*"

The introductory words of Constantine's inscription as recorded are thus precisely the first four words of the Jarrow stone, *In hoc singulari signo . . .*; nor is there any doubt that they are taken from Rufinus. Eusebius himself had written *τοῦτῃ τῇ σωτηριώδει σημείῳ*, that is, "*hoc salutari signo*"; Rufinus changed *salutari* into *singulari*, probably taking this word from the original inscription, which he may have seen during his stay at Rome, though there may have been other reasons for the change. His *Ecclesiastical History* was a favourite book in medieval times; it was one

⁶ I will mention only H. Schrörs, *Konstantins des Grossen Kreuz-erscheinung*, Bonn 1913, pp. 24f., 44f.; N. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, in *Proc. of the Brit. Acad.* xv, pp. 400f.; H. Grégoire, *La Statue de Constantin et le Signe de la Croix*, in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1, Louvain 1932, pp. 135-43; J. Gagé, *La "virtus" de Constantin à propos d'une inscription discutée*, in *Revue des études latines* xii, Paris 1934, pp. 398-405; H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche* III, Berlin 1938, pp. 61, 141ff.

⁷ See Mommsen's edition of Rufinus added to that of Eusebius by Eduard Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke* II, 2 (in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* ix, 2), Leipzig 1908, p. 833. Eusebius' Greek text of the inscription is also to be found in his *Life of Constantine* 1, 40 (ed. Ivar A. Heikel, *ib.*, vol. 1, 1902, p. 26).

of the main sources from which the knowledge of early church history was derived. Mommsen, without aiming at completeness, mentions in his edition nearly one hundred existing manuscripts.⁸ Further, this *Ecclesiastical History* was read at an early date in Great Britain. Gildas used it in the sixth century in his book *De excidio Britanniae*. He gives, for example, a quotation from Philo (c. 20), which could not be identified exactly in the works of the Alexandrian Jewish writer and caused some speculation as to how the Greek text might have reached the British author.⁹ The sentence is in fact taken from words of Philo as given by Eusebius and freely translated by Rufinus (II, 5, §5).¹⁰ Anglo-Saxons also used his history, Aldhelm¹¹ as well as Jarrow's most famous monk, the Venerable Bede.¹² Rufinus's work was one of his models in composing the *History of the English Church*, and he drew from it also for other writings. Now we see that the same book served as the source of an inscription in his own monastery, while he was yet a boy twelve or thirteen years old, if the inscription belongs to the foundation as is normally supposed. The conjecture *SIGNO* can now be taken for granted. Perhaps the alliteration of *singulari signo* also contributed towards the choice of these words; everybody knows that alliteration was an essential part of early Germanic poetry, and some Anglo-Latin writers like Aldhelm also had a predilection for it.

The veneration of the Holy Cross developed from the

⁸ *Ib.*, vol. II, 3, pp. ccli-cclvi.

⁹ Cf. M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, Paris 1905, p. 272.

¹⁰ See my paper, *Bischof Germanus von Auxerre und die Quellen zu seiner Geschichte*, in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* XXIX, 1904, p. 124, n. 1, and my review of Roger's book, *ib.* XXXI, 1906, p. 784. Cf. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. hist.*, *Auct. antiqu.* XIII, p. 7.

¹¹ See R. Ehwald, *ib.*, *Auct. antiqu.* xv, p. 545.

¹² See C. Plummer, *Baedae Opera historica* I, p. li; J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books known to Anglo-Latin writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1936, p. 78, and what I said myself in *Bede, his Life, Times, and Writings: essays . . . edited by A. Hamilton Thompson*, Oxford 1935, pp. 133, 142f.

fourth century onwards, particularly after the true cross of the passion was believed to have been discovered in Jerusalem; the poems *Elene* and the *Dream of the Rood* in the Vercelli Book may be mentioned as examples of this veneration in early England. The word *signum* is used in relation to the cross innumerable times (also synonymous with *signaculum* and *vexillum*); in this connexion the meaning of the last three words of the inscription: *vita redditur mundo* is obvious too. According to biblical tradition and Christian belief death had entered the world by the tree in Paradise; Christ as *salvator mundi* had defeated death by his passion on the tree of the cross and restored life to the world. The cross was the ensign or banner of this victory, *vivifica crux*, as it is very often called. As in Ireland¹³ many monumental crosses were erected in northern England, as is common knowledge; therefore an inscription emphasizing the meaning of this symbol in some prominent position in the church itself would have been to the point. One may compare, for example, the last verses of the famous hymn of the poet Venantius Fortunatus:¹⁴

Vexilla regis prodeunt,
fulget crucis mysterium,

¹³ I do not know whether a passage of Jonas of Susa has been cited in this connexion. In his *Vita Columbani* II, 6 (ed. Krusch, *Scriptores rer. Merov.* IV, p. 118, and in *Jonas Vitae sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis*, in the collection *Scriptores rer. Germanic.*, Hanover 1905, pp. 238f.) he tells that Abbot Athala of Bobbio, the successor of St. Columbanus, who died about 626, before his death, *aspiciens crucem, quam ipse . . . poni praeceperat*, made a prayer which begins: *Ave, inquit, alma crux, quae mundi pretium portasti, quae vexilla feres aeterna*, etc. The Cottonian manuscript Titus D.XXVII (Hyde Abbey, early eleventh century) contains a prayer with the same beginning (ed. W. de Gray Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, Hampshire Record Society, London and Winchester 1892, p. 280): *Ave, alma crux, quae mundi pretium portasti, quae vexilla regis aeterni ferebas*, etc. Does the prayer depend on Jonas, or Jonas on an earlier prayer? Perhaps liturgists may be able to answer the question.

¹⁴ ed. Leo, *Mon. Germ. hist., Auct. antiqu.* IV, I, p. 34; A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, Cambridge 1922, p. 177. Cf. U. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum* II, no. 21481; John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, London 1892, pp. 1219ff.; F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, Oxford 1927, pp. 88ff.

which ends :

Salve ara, salve victima
de passionis gloria,
qua vita mortem pertulit
et morte *vitam reddidit*.

I do not know whether the three last words of the inscription were also borrowed from an earlier source or were coined for the occasion. The position of *mundo* after *redditur* and the rhyme *signo—mundo* effected by that, might rather suggest the second possibility. But the wording may also have been influenced by the Vulgate text of St. John's Gospel vi. 33 : "Panis enim Dei est, qui de caelo descendit et dat *vitam mundo*."¹⁵

¹⁵ My thanks are due to the Rev. T. Romans who induced me to write this paper, to Mr. Ian A. Richmond and Mr. R. P. Wright for valuable suggestions and friendly help of various kinds.



FIG. 1. STONE OF PRESBYTER HERBERT.
MONKWEARMOUTH.

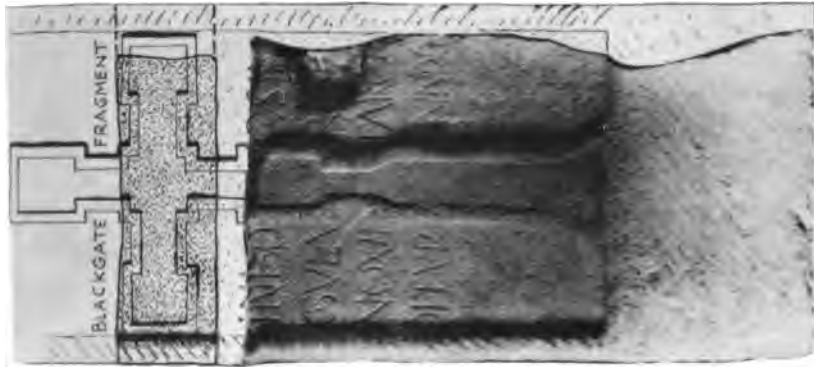


FIG. 2. THE JARROW ROAD.

IV.—ROMAN LEGIONARIES AT CORBRIDGE, THEIR SUPPLY-BASE, TEMPLES AND RELIGIOUS CULTS.

BY IAN A. RICHMOND.

[Read on 30th September 1942.]

INTRODUCTION.

This study arises out of the structural details disclosed by His Majesty's Office of Works in 1940 and 1941 on the Roman site at Corbridge. The main concern of the last two Corbridge reports¹ has been the definition of two military compounds, distinct in the third century and amalgamated in the fourth: and it has become clear that their purpose was to house detachments of legionary artificers, engaged in what would now be described as army ordnance work. But the consolidation of the structures for permanent display has now passed beyond the limits of the compounds into the irregular areas which their enclosure-walls so sedulously avoid. It is revealed that these enclaves contained a series of temples, planned and built at the same time as the compounds and intended to house the non-official cults connected with them. Further, many inscribed and sculptured stones recovered in past excavations at Corbridge can be shown to be contemporary with this phase in the history of the site, and thus to illustrate it in unexpectedly clear detail. An opportunity is therefore afforded for the first time to present a coherent picture of a legionary establishment unique among known Roman frontier stations both in organization and in its wealth of

¹ *AA*⁴ xv, 243-294; xvii, 85-115.

religious dedications. Finally, our fragmentary knowledge of earlier periods is summarized and an attempt is made to appraise it.

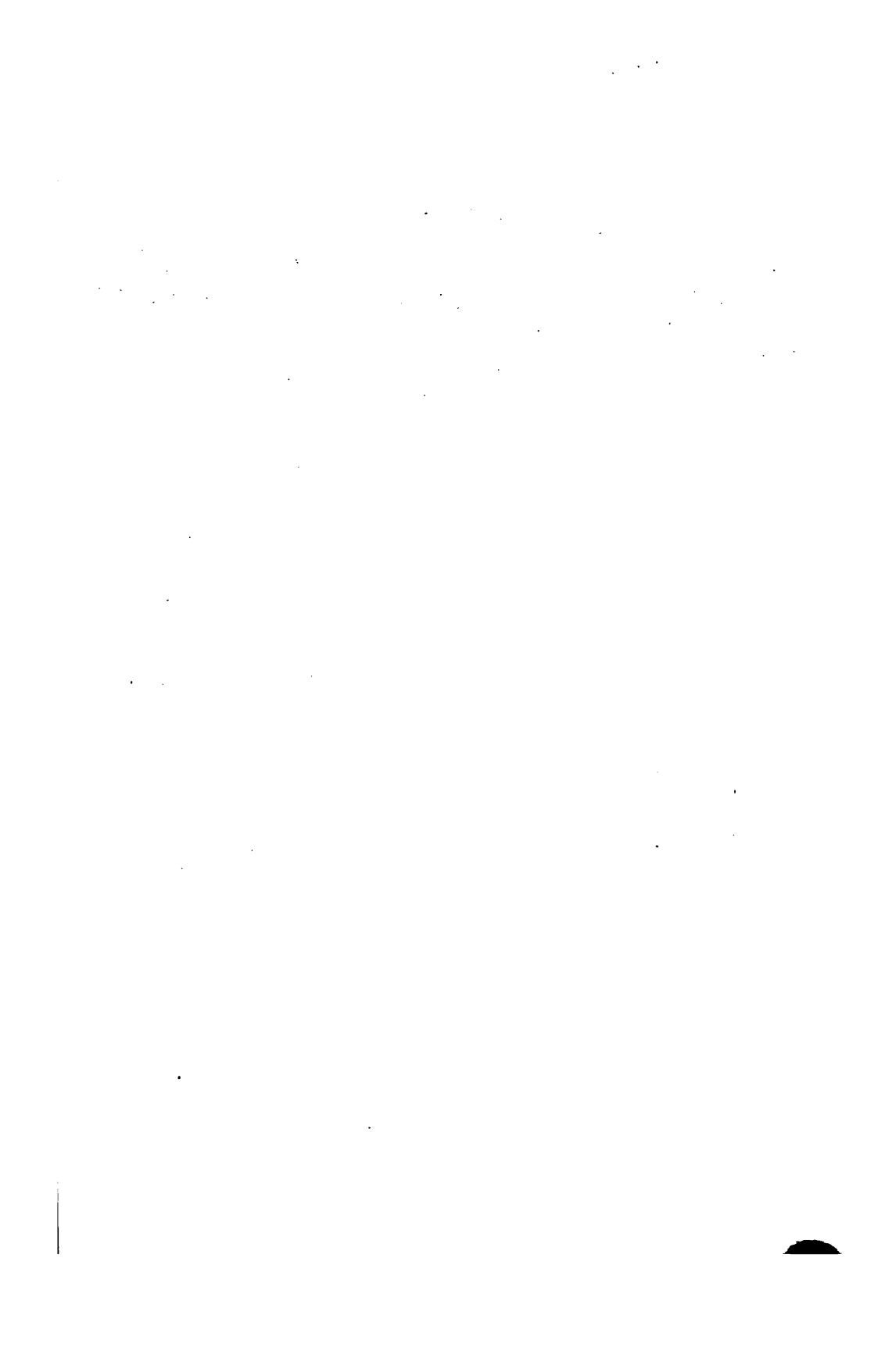
PART I. THE EAST MILITARY COMPOUND.

(a) *The enclosure-wall.* As noted in the report for 1936-38, the original north wall of the east compound projected² at its north-east angle so as to form a bastion or, more probably, a gateway on the main east-to-west street. Consolidation of this feature revealed that its east side was more regular than originally thought, and a slight correction to its line is introduced in the new plan now offered (fig. 1, PLAN). A further addition to the plan is of a conduit connecting the two tanks in the street between the compounds, replacing the oblique conduit which originally fed the east tank and had been destroyed in making the fourth-century gate. Apart from these features no fresh observation was made on this part of the site.

The newly-uncovered sector of the enclosure-wall commences at the east re-entrant formed by the gate or bastion already mentioned. The later fourth-century reconstruction of the wall,³ noted in 1936-38, did not extend beyond the re-entrant, from which point eastward the wall is of earlier fourth-century date, here distinguished by the use of a large and coarse chamfered plinth and of squarish facing-stones set in deep courses. As shown in 1912, the wall soon turned sharply through another salient angle, creating a second and larger re-entrant, of which the east arm takes a somewhat oblique course. This eastern sector is ill preserved. Even in ancient times fate had not dealt kindly with the structure: the curved angle of the second, or east, re-entrant had collapsed so much as to require support by a large internal buttress. Post-Roman stone-robbers had further reduced the remains to footing-flags

² *AA*⁴ xv, 248.

³ *AA*⁴ xv, 249.



only, except for two short fragments of early fourth-century masonry; while south of site xlv the very footings had disappeared. But the clay-and-cobble foundations, which had eluded the excavators of 1912, were found to swing boldly southwards, falling into line with the east wall of site xlv, as suggested in 1938. The east limit of the compound is thus defined, and the real significance of the very well-made southward road, lined by open stone gutters, becomes apparent. It evidently formed one of the principal arterial roads of the third-century site, by-passing the compounds on the east, just as the road to the Tyne bridge bypasses them on the west. Finally, the east-to-west axis of the east compound (figs. 1, 4) can now be accurately defined as 200 feet over the enclosing walls.

(b) *New buildings.* The buildings enclosed by the wall just described had already been examined⁴ in 1907 and 1912. They comprise sites xli, xlii, D and xliii, and two *scholae* hitherto unidentified. Site xli is an L-shaped building, 85 feet long and 28½ feet in maximum width. Its plan is not unlike the centurion's end of a barrack-block, with quarters of other ranks curtailed, and is slightly more regular than the plan of 1912 suggests, though rather less of the internal cross-walls remains now than in 1912. The two floor-levels observed in 1912 have also been removed, no doubt during examination of earlier levels mentioned⁵ in connexion with this building. The building itself was thought to have been living-quarters, which wins some support from its position, next to officers' houses, and from the plan, which would suit quarters for a centurion or an *optio*, combined with two *contubernia* of troops. Building xlii, on the other hand, was thought to have been industrial, since it contained "small hearths or rough furnaces." It is, however, possible, and perhaps more

⁴ *AA*³ iv, 260, iii, 172, ix, 235-6, 280 plan=1907 *Report*, general plan, 1906 *Report*, 172, pl. ii, 1912 *Report*, 6-7, plan, p. 52.

⁵ *AA*³ ix, 231, 279=1912 *Report*, 3, 51.

probable, that it represents further living-quarters, which cannot have been arranged in orthodox manner in the space available.

The buildings east of site xlii were little understood either in 1907 or in 1912. Building D, however, is now revealed as an important structure, comprising the northern two-thirds of a small headquarters (fig. 2), some 56 feet

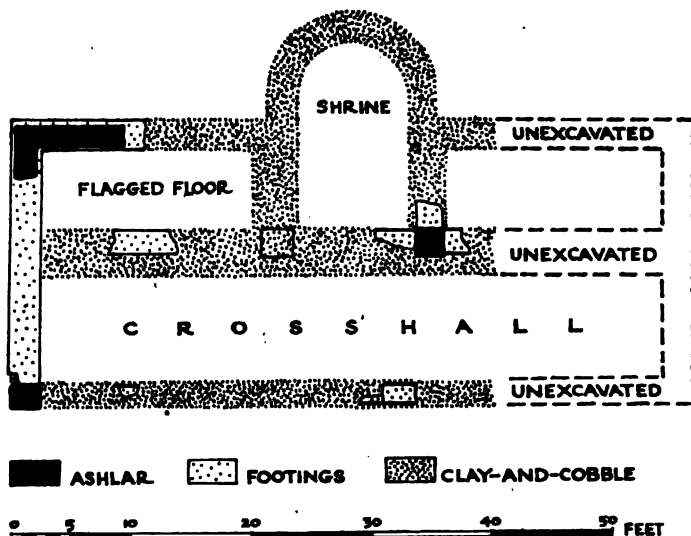


FIG. 2. CORBRIDGE: HEADQUARTERS BUILDING IN EAST COMPOUND

6 inches by 23 feet 9 inches overall. As in the west headquarters, the front courtyard is omitted, but in other respects the plan is more like that of normal *principia*.⁶ Again, while the whole building is smaller than the west headquarters, which measure 38 feet by 44½ feet overall, the reduction in size is somewhat compensated by the provision of an exceptionally large apsidal *sacellum*. The superstructure was well built, though little of its masonry survives. Large ashlar piers seem to have been provided at the angles and other points of stress, as in the west headquarters: one foundation-block for such a pier is seen at the

⁶ J. Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, 83, fig. 28.

north-west corner, and there is another on the south side of the *sacellum*, matched by the socket for a missing block on the north. There was no underground strong-room, either below the *sacellum* or to one side of it. The building thus comprised a front hall and an apsidal *sacellum*, flanked by administrative rooms so wide⁷ as to have invited subdivision in timber. The type is of interest as a variant from the normal *principia*, and ranks with the west headquarters as a first example in Britain of headquarters⁸ for a small body of troops detached from a main unit. So rare is the feature that parallels are wanting: but the arrangement has some resemblance to that of the Diocletianic *principia*⁹ at Palmyra, where the forecourt has become a large public colonnaded piazza while the building proper comprises cross-hall and administrative rooms entered from a decorative porch. At Corbridge, however, there is no special allowance for assemblage in front of the building.

To north of the headquarters lay building xliii, in which different levels much confused the excavators of 1912. The building is now revealed (fig. 1) as an oblong structure, 30 feet long by 24 feet wide, subdivided into four equal compartments. The north-west division still exhibits channels below floor-level and corresponding vents in the wall, while similar channels were observed¹⁰ in the south-west division in 1912, when all were taken for latrine-sewers, the wall-vents being undetected. In fact, the channels are quite unlike those of a normal Roman latrine and the quadripartite building is wholly unsuited to that function. The association of the ducts with ventilators indicates that the use of the channels was to keep the floors of the building cool and dry. A storehouse is thus indicated; and it would not be unreasonable to see in this

⁷ cf. *PSAS* lxxi, 40, for a similar case at Croy Hill.

⁸ The small central building vi at Haltwhistle Burn is probably another, but on a far smaller scale and less recognizable (*AA*³ v, 224, pl. ii). See note 16 below for an Eastern parallel.

⁹ Gabriel, *Syria* vii, pl. xii, building 36.

¹⁰ *AA*³ ix, 234 = 1912 *Report*, 6.

little building, adjacent to a curtailed *principia*, a minor edition of the large granaries associated with *principia* in normal forts. In a later period, however, this building was

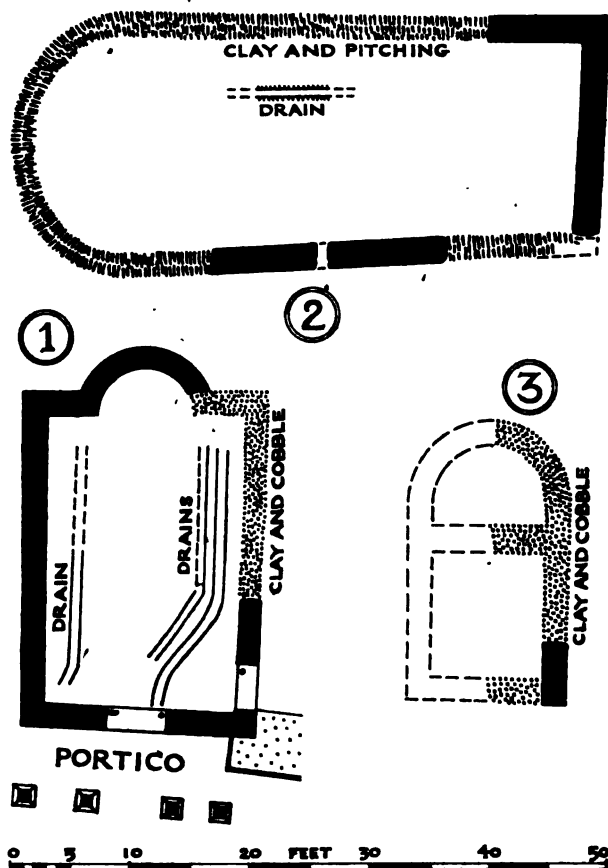


FIG. 3. SCHOLAE AT CORBRIDGE.

No. 1 (site xl) is of the fourth century; nos. 2 and 3 of the third century.

completely obliterated by another (fig. 1), 19 feet wide and at least 48 feet long, of which the vanished west end probably fronted upon the street passing the *principia*. The significance of this change is discussed below (p. 136).

Close to the main north-east angle of the compound, at the east end of site xliii, a maze of walls is now for the first time clearly definable (fig. 1). Two second-century walls, further discussed below (p. 218), run parallel from north to south, passing below the flag footings of the enclosing wall of the compound and actually embodied in its clay-and-cobble foundations. Above these walls, but below the foundations of the long building on site xliii, lay an apsidal building, 21 feet wide and 49 feet long overall (fig. 3, 2). Little of its superstructure remains: but its foundation, of large freestone flakes set on edge in clay, proved easy to trace. The floor had been removed, and was therefore presumably of flags; and a drain occurs below its level, in very much the same position as the sacrificial soak-drain¹¹ of the apsidal building xl (fig. 3, 1). A smaller apsidal building, 23 feet long, lay further south. Only its clay-and-cobble foundations remained (fig. 3, 3), capped by one short stretch of masonry; and only half its width, computed as some 13 feet overall, is at present available for excavation. An internal cross-wall lay east of the apse. These two apsidal buildings, though very different in size, are obviously of similar type. Both are fitted in behind the principal buildings of the compound and face the enclosure wall. Their planning has thus an air of seclusion uncommon among Roman military buildings, while the plan itself may be compared (fig. 3) with that of building xl, described in 1930 and interpreted as a *schola collegii* or military guild-room. The promotion of these guilds (*collegia*), worshipful associations¹² of private soldiers and lower ranks for welfare and good fellowship, which were regulated by a licensed constitution, is a feature of the Severan reorganization of

¹¹ AA⁴ xvii, 103.

¹² For these guilds, see von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des röm. Heeres*, 78-90, and in particular 89-90: this study enumerates in detail the types of legionary *schola*, and enumerates a constitution of the *cornicines*, *CIL* viii, 2557, cf. 2553, a *collegium* of hospital-staff. The Bremenium altar *CIL* vii, 1035, *NCH* xv, 149, no. 21, is one of six instances cited by von Domaszewski for the *auxilia*.

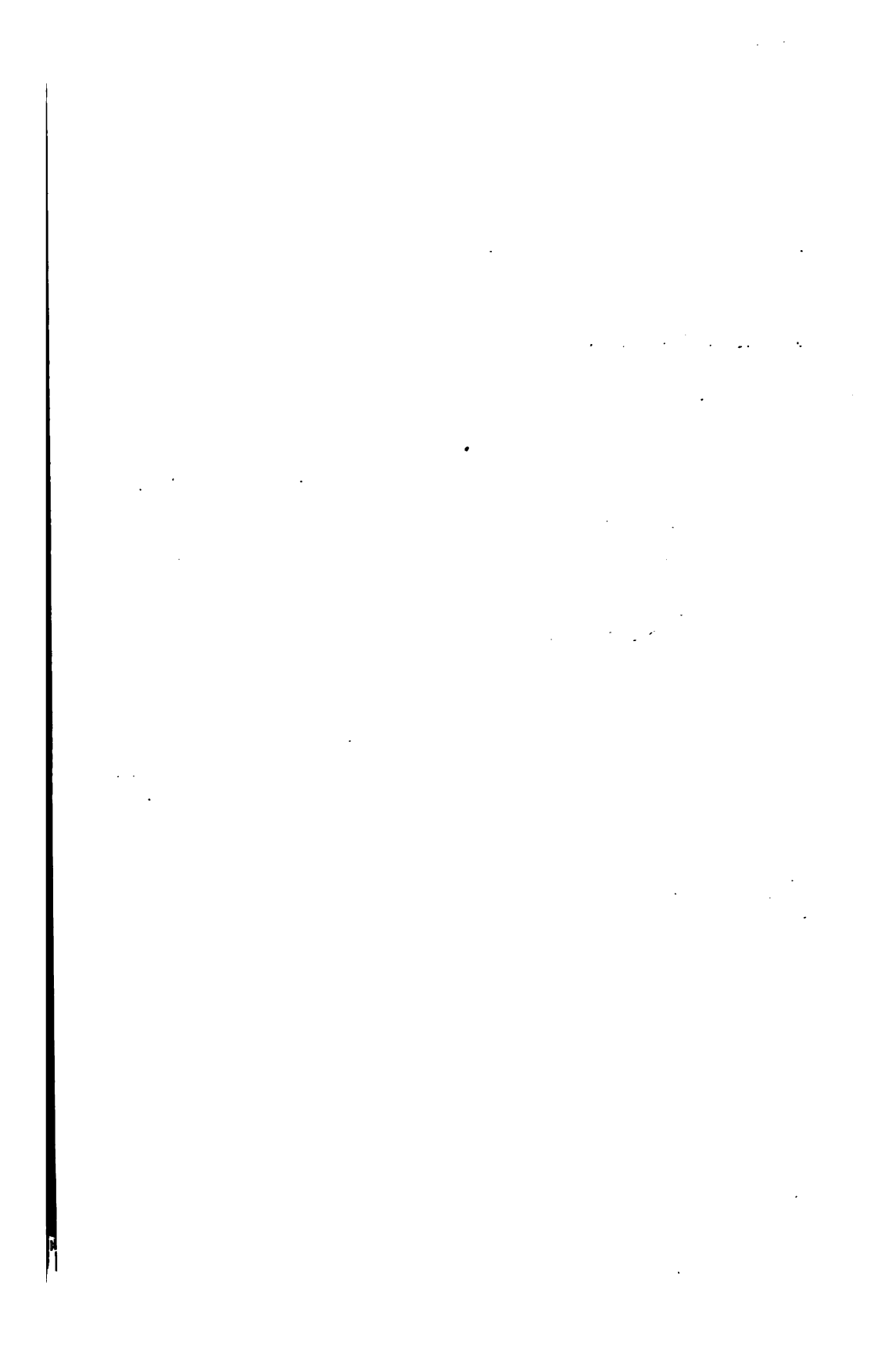
the army and is attested even among *auxilia* in the early third century at Bremenium.

(c) *The relationship of the compounds.* The consolidation of the east compound has now reached the limit of the area available for excavation, and it is time to take stock of results achieved (fig. 4). The most important point is the discovery that each compound possessed its own headquarters, since this stamps them as the establishments of distinct units, separately organized and presumably serving different purposes. The precise function of the east compound, in contrast with the iron-working west compound, is not yet clear, and its elucidation must await excavation of the southern half.¹³ Meanwhile, however, it can be said that the compounds were quarters of different army units, and that the west compound at one time housed a detachment of the Second Legion. The similarity of the compounds will further support the view that not merely one, but both, were designed for legionaries. There is, in fact, much evidence for the presence of other legionary units than the Second at Corbridge. The Sixth Legion was responsible for the building inscription assigned by Haverfield¹⁴ to Virius Lupus, the first governor of Severus in Britain; while one of its centurions set up an altar to *Iuppiter Dolichenus* (p. 193). The Twentieth Legion is also very significantly represented: not only did it undertake building¹⁵ on the site, but it was associated with the Sixth in a dedication to *Concordia* as if detachments from both legions were in garrison simultaneously (p. 170). Since, however, only detachments (*vexillationes*) of the legions are concerned, it is evident that these may have been changed from time to time within, or even between, the units involved, and it would be idle to pretend that the story of these changes can now be recovered. The general character of the garrison, as

¹³ This portion was cursorily examined in 1906-7 (*AA*³ iv, 260, pl. v), with results that are as unsatisfactory on plan as in description.

¹⁴ *AA*³ ix, 267=1912 *Report*, 39: cf. *NCH* x, 501, *EE* ix, 1334.

¹⁵ Witness the stones *EE* ix, 1382 and 1148 a and b.



two distinct bodies of legionary troops, nevertheless emerges clearly.

A second point raised by the discovery that the compounds are independent is that of accommodation. While the east compound contains two officers' houses and quarters for troops, neither houses nor barracks have yet appeared in the west compound. It is, however, to be noted that the north ends of building xls and adjacent structures seem to be fitted with hypocausts, and that the southern half of the area is almost completely unexplored. There is thus ample room for future discovery of the living quarters of a small detachment.

It may further be observed that the independence of the two compounds satisfactorily accounts for differences in their design, much less readily explicable if the compounds were complementary. Their *principia* (figs. 2, 4) differ very considerably, the west erected to a compact and ingenious plan not at all unlike that of Daganīya,¹⁶ the east a more obvious adaptation of the standard type. Again, the west *principia* contains an underground strong-room, but had originally no apse in its *sacellum*, while the east *principia* had an apsidal *sacellum* from the first but at no time possessed an underground strong-room. The main gateways of the two compounds also exhibit significant differences. That of the west compound is built in carefully dressed ashlar framed in pilasters, while that of the east compound is built in rock-faced masonry without embellishment. These differences, taken as a whole, suggest that the design for each compound emanated from a different unit.¹⁷ Another type of distinction appears in the street dividing the compounds. One water-tank is there allotted (fig. 4) to each side of the street and is actually fed by a different conduit. If the work was one design, the duplication of tanks and feeders is otiose and redundant. But the arrange-

¹⁶ Brunnow and von Domaszewski, *Die Provinz Arabia*, ii, pl. xli.

¹⁷ The conclusions based upon different types of milecastles on Hadrian's Wall may be compared, *AA*⁴ xiii, 258-273.

ment is entirely intelligible if the compounds were intended for different units, for it would avoid quarrels over the water-supply and any question as to which unit was to effect repairs.

The changes following the amalgamation of the compounds (fig. 1) are also more intelligible if one compound then lost an independent status. Unfortunately, the walls and floors of the east headquarters have been so robbed as to remove all indication of its fourth-century state. But the officers' houses were replaced by store-sheds; and a minor building of the same class obliterated both the storehouse north of the *principia* and the larger *schola* behind it. Thus, while the west compound remained the centre of administration and iron-working, the east compound lost its individuality and was filled with buildings subsidiary to the west compound. The most significant bonds of the new unity thus achieved are, however, the *schola*¹⁸ and water-supply common to both compounds.

PART II. THE SACRED ENCLAVES.

The north half of each compound having now been fully explored, it can be stated that the tortuous course of their enclosure-walls is not due to any factor inside the compounds. An external cause must thus be sought for this curious planning, which cuts off from the west compound a rectangular plot of land, and from the east compound first a small rectangle and then a larger and less regular space. To each compound thus corresponds an enclave.

The object of the planning is clear. It is designed to provide a considerable frontage on the main street north of the compounds; but the type of structure for which so significant a frontage was required has until now remained obscure. Previous excavations,¹⁹ covering the west enclave

¹⁸ *AA*⁴ xvii, 104; the significance of the building as shared by both compounds is clear now as it was not when the building was described.

¹⁹ *AA*³ iv, 247-258 = 1907 *Report*, 43-52.

in 1907 and the east enclave in 1912, revealed in the west a pottery-store and in the east open ground apparently devoid of important buildings. The west enclave was examined anew in 1940 (see fig. 4), but with results which were suggestive rather than conclusive. Corroboration of the evidence which they offered was therefore awaited and was obtained from the east enclave in 1941.

(a) *The east enclave.* The first features chosen for examination were two lines of large masonry blocks on the south side of the main street, partly revealed²⁰ in 1912. When fully stripped these were shown to be the revetments of two massive rectangular platforms roughly built in three courses of large hammer-dressed blocks set in clay. The west platform measures $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet on the frontage and 33 feet in depth, and its north end, which was evidently the frontage, is built in dressed blocks, very carefully fitted with mortared joints irregularly coursed. The north-east corner of this platform, however, had later become ruined and had been clumsily repaired by setting original blocks upside down in a mass of clay, while other blocks, derived from elsewhere on the ruined platform, capped its front, at this stage much worn by treading. The level of this repair-work coincided with that of the early fourth-century road, which buried the front of the platform and a massive open gutter parallel with it. These points neglected, the frontage presents some interesting features (fig. 5). Just over half of the original top surface of the platform is still in position and exhibits three scabbled seatings for columns, each seating marked by a pair of dowel-holes for fixing the vanished bases. As the seatings show, the bases were some 16 inches square and were spaced 6 feet apart from centre to centre. Thus, in defiance of convention, there will have been an uneven number of columns, namely, five, on the 24-foot frontage. The two eastern seatings were removed in the reconstruction of the north-east corner, noted above, but

²⁰ AA³ ix, 235, 280 plan=1912 *Report*, 7 and plan, 52.

can be recognized; a fragment of one was re-set on the corner itself, while the other was removed to a point on the west side south of the north-west corner. There are no similar seatings at corresponding levels on the sides and back of the platform; and this is not surprising, since these faces of the building lie too close to adjacent structures to suit a colonnade. To return, then, to the front, at 4 feet 9 inches behind the outer face a parallel foundation runs across the platform; and close to the middle of this foundation lay a massive limestone block still exhibiting two rectangular dowel-holes, as for a column or pilaster, and two smaller round plug-holes for fixing another element best interpreted as sill or door-frame.²¹ In other words, this stone is to be recognized as part of a doorway, probably central, in the back wall of the colonnade. The whole building thus emerges as a monumental structure standing upon a *podium*, fronted by a pentastyle colonnade and entered by an elaborate central doorway. Despite the unorthodox spacing of the colonnade, no classical archaeologist would hesitate to recognize here a temple of Roman type, which may now be named Temple I.

The second platform is separated from Temple I by an alley about two feet wide, with a cobbled surface on a level with the second course of masonry. On this surface several coins had been dropped, comprising a fresh *denarius* of Severus, an unworn plated *denarius* of Alexander Severus (in bad condition due to chemical disruption), two illegible second brasses (one of them probably of the first century), a third brass of Tetricus and a radiate minim. These form a characteristic group²² of local third-century coinage, which began to accumulate early in the century, as is shown by the presence and fresh condition of the Severan *denarii*. It is thus established that the alley and associated buildings belong to the third-century occupation. Independent

²¹ The sill or threshold would be a separate and less massive piece, whether in stone or timber, and, as such, would require separate fixing.

²² cf. Sutherland, *CW*² xxxviii, 232-234 for a late third-century group: the absence of pieces of the Severi will be noted by way of contrast.

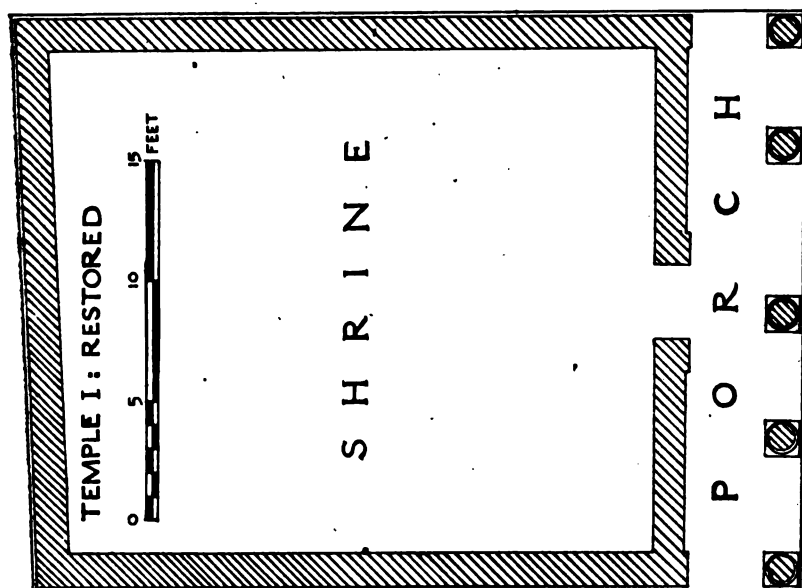
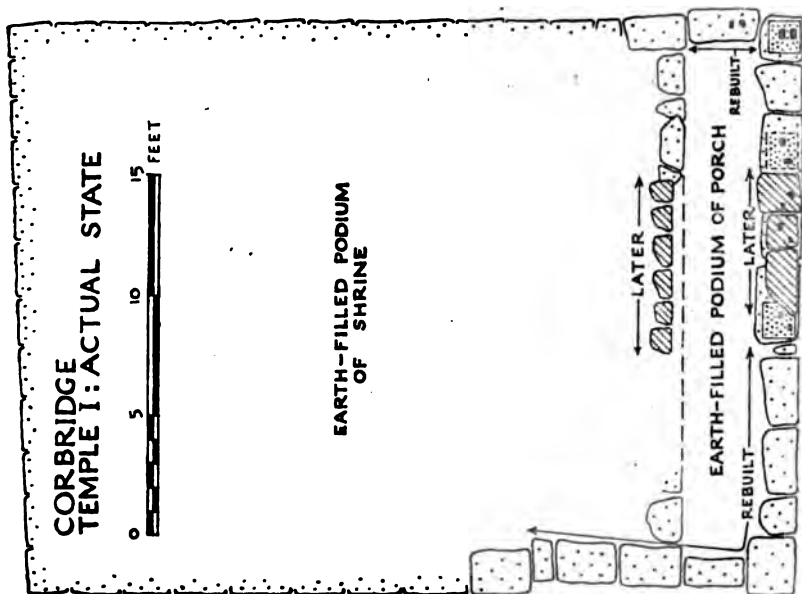


FIG. 5

evidence for assigning this level to the early third century is thus available, apart from its relation to the road-levels and compounds.

The monumental character of the second platform (fig. 6) is even more pronounced than that of Temple I. The front, built in particularly impressive finely-dressed ashlar, is larger, measuring 31 feet 5 inches. The sides are built in rough coursed blocks set in clay, and measure not less than 55½ feet in depth, but the back is now missing. The top surface of the masonry front has been considerably abraded by treading during the fourth-century occupation of the platform, represented by fragmentary walls and ovens or furnaces (see fig. 1). But the treading has not removed evident traces of original preparation of the entire front for an elaborate superstructure. The traces comprise four sunk and scabbled seatings for upright columns or pilasters, each about 15 inches square, symmetrically spaced ten feet apart on either side of a central opening seven feet wide. But it is also evident that only the west half of this opening came to be used. The east half was blocked, before the threshold became worn, by a reducing-wall terminating in a new pilaster for which a fifth sunk and scabbled bed was provided. The west half contained the reduced doorway, with heavily worn threshold once reached from the street level by steps of wood or stone which were fixed by plug-holes cut at the base of the second course of the platform. Finally, the whole surface between the sunk seatings has been scabbled in order to bed upon it the intermediate panels of masonry²³ demanded by the wide spacing of the uprights.

The arrangements thus indicate a closed front, composed of screen-walls framed in pilasters. It was entered by a wide central doorway, reduced almost at once to half its width. The width of the superstructure, nowhere exceeding 15 inches even on foundation, further suggests a relatively

²³ cf. *AA*⁶ xiii, fig. 3, for similar construction at Chesterholm. It is not suggested that these panels were either monolithic or sculptured reliefs. A similar wall in half timbering enclosed the *Dolichenum* at Stockstadt, cf. *ORL Lief.* xxxiii, Taf. v.

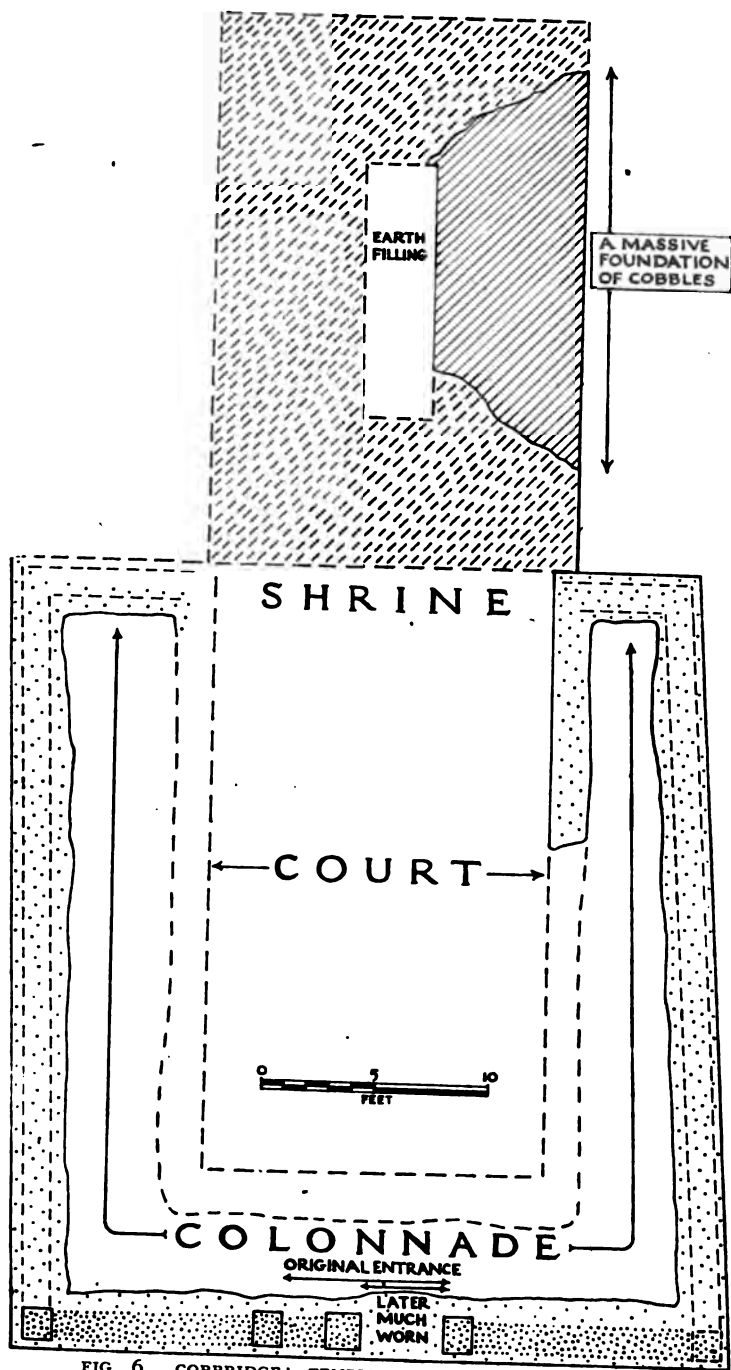


FIG. 6. CORBRIDGE: TEMPLE II, ACTUAL STATE, 1943.

light building such as certainly could not have supported a roof spanning the whole platform. This impression is corroborated by the remains to the rear, not yet fully explored, which indicate a double line of foundations at the side of the platform, the inner line being relatively light and lying seven feet behind the outer. This suggests a colonnade surrounding a court rather than a roofed building spanning the whole platform. At 35 feet behind the front, however, the outer edge of the platform ends with a sharp inward turn, while the inner foundation merges with a very solid mass of clay-and-cobble edged with free-stone, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. Thus, the colonnaded court seems here to terminate, as if it were a forecourt to a small and massive shrine, some fifteen feet wide and twenty-five feet long, of which the west side and south-west corner are partly preserved. The suggested plan closely resembles²⁴ that of the temple on the main street of Wroxeter. It is a Roman type, of which such temples as that of Mars Ultor in Rome or Jupiter Helio-politanus at Baalbek represent the richest development.²⁵

The space between Temple II and site xlv is occupied by yet a third platform (see fig. 4), 27 feet wide from east to west and of undetermined length. This is manifestly to be recognized as Temple III, although its north end, unlike those so far described, is not built in masonry but in roughly coursed hammer-dressed blocks set in clay. The poor construction suggests that the face in question was not the front of the building, as is confirmed by its relation to yet another platform on the north, described below (p. 144). No indication, however, exists of the original finish given to the facing now so rough, and it may be thought²⁶ that the stonework was perhaps luted with clay and then limewashed, or even painted to resemble masonry. The front of the

²⁴ *Wroxeter Report*, 1913, 2-7, pls. i-iv, figs. 1-2.

²⁵ Ashby, Anderson and Spiers, *The Architecture of Ancient Rome*, 53, fig. 9, 66, fig. 14.

²⁶ This type of finish is a common tradition in clay building and lasts well, so long as the proofing coat of limewash or paint is kept in good order.

building, yet to be uncovered, must have lain on the south street, between site xlv and the east compound, for all other approaches are blocked.

Temples I, II, and III lay immediately behind a massive open gutter of stone; bordering the third-century street, which continues eastwards until it reaches the north-to-south road east of site xlv. Opposite the alley between Temple III and site xlv, however, the line of this gutter is met and crossed by another which descends from north to south, emerging at the crossing from between the backs of yet two more well-defined platforms (see fig. 4). The first, defined as Temple IV, masks the north end of site xlv. It measures 27 feet 3 inches along the back, and the south side, though considerably ruined, can be traced by its packing of large-grade gravel and broken freestone for 32 feet 8 inches, as far as the north-to-south road, where a large block seems to denote its south-east corner. Its frontage thus lay on the north-to-south road, a new and important street-line where there may well have been other temples.²⁷ Indeed, the very solid ashlar walling underlying the neighbouring site xx to north, suggests that the first element in this ribbon development may in fact have been discovered.

Pending further excavation, however, our account of this group of temples must end with the westward-facing Temple V, which lies back to back with Temple IV. Its north-east corner is destroyed by a late drain skirting the south-west corner of site xx, but there can be no doubt that its north side coincided with that of Temple IV, since the packing of the *podium* ends just south of this line, where undisturbed by the drain just mentioned. The back of Temple V will thus have measured approximately 28½ feet over-all. The south side, not less than 43 feet long, exhibits facing five courses high, extending for 28 feet, as far as the alley be-

²⁷ Attention may be drawn to the "earlier building . . . paved with heavy flags" below the north end of site xx; the massive foundations below the east end of site xxi s; the "pavement of heavy stones" below site xxi n; all these features are noted in 1910 *Report*, pp. 28, 31 (fig. 9) and 32=AA² vii, pp. 170, 173 (fig. 9), 174.

tween Temples II and III, and then packing continuous for another 15 feet. The west and north sides have been entirely robbed of their masonry, either by late-Roman builders or later stone-robbers. The exact position of the west front cannot therefore be determined. But it is clear that Temple V not only masked the whole north end of Temple III, thus explaining why that end is badly built, but encroached upon something like half of the stately front of Temple II (see fig. 4). This encroachment, surely additional to the overlapping so clearly allowed for in the design of Temple III, provides the immediate reason why the doorway of Temple II was shifted westwards.

The exploration of the five temples now described cannot be considered as complete, since, in greater or lesser degree, work remains to be done in all of them. But their discovery solves the main problem raised by the planning of the east compound. The area so scrupulously avoided was holy ground, a sacred enclave packed tight with temples, which lined the main street and, by blocking it completely²⁸ at the east end, made of it a long *forum* or piazza.

(b) *The west enclave.* The west enclave was partly explored in 1907, when the principal building discovered was the pottery-store (site iv). Excavation in 1940 covered somewhat more of the area, but was not then described because it lay outside the east compound. It now falls into place (fig. 4) as complementary to the east enclave.

The pottery-store was first stripped to the limit of previous excavation, which had removed most of the floor and had made a deep shaft in the rearward half of the shop in order to examine earlier levels. On completing their examination, the excavators had dumped back into the shaft

²⁸ Although the levels on this part of the site are imperfectly understood as yet, it should be noted that the east side of the storehouse on site xi was evidently cut deep down through Antonine buildings. Thus there must have been in effect a bank to east of it which was never cut away and accounts for the comparatively high level of the temple platforms.

very large quantities of the white *mortaria* which they had found piled in the shop, having retained for study only the Samian ware. These *mortaria* have markedly developed hammer-headed rims, typical of the mid-fourth century,²⁹ in agreement with two incontrovertible facts, firstly, that the roadway coincident with the pottery-store is undoubtedly of the same date and, secondly, that the floor of the store itself yielded ten coins ranging from Tetricus to Valentinian I and Gratian, that is, covering the period A.D. 297-367. The Samian ware, though unquestionably of second-century type, must thus represent a mass of material surviving in official store, in the same way as fresh tiles of *Legio IX Hispana*, not manufactured after about A.D. 120, were used in building a fourth-century bath-house at York.³⁰ Ordinary commercial stock-in-trade would have already been in circulation.

The north threshold and west wall of the pottery-store rested upon a massive platform (fig. 4), contemporary with the third-century roadway and an open gutter, which threw off a branch parallel with the west edge of the platform. When isolated, the platform proved to be a *podium* of exactly the same type as in the east enclave, though smaller, measuring 12 feet 8 inches on frontage and 24 feet 10 inches in depth. The structure, with proportions which are once again not native but Roman, may therefore be recognized as Temple VI.

Elsewhere in the west enclave the remains of this period ride high and have been much robbed. But the *podium* of a seventh temple, apparently facing west, is recognizable in a line of large plough-scored revetment-blocks parallel with the road outside the north wall of the west compound. Exact dimensions are not of significance, but the remains indicate a platform measuring not less than 21 feet from east to west and 14 feet from north to south.

²⁹ cf. *CW*² xxxviii, figs. 25, 26.

³⁰ *Proc. Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society*, i, 15-17.

No other temple was identified, nor were there any contemporary structures in the space bounded by the east-to-west main street and the roadway encircling the compound. The impression is thus of planning less crowded than in the east enclave and of smaller shrines³¹ standing in pleasant gardens or groves. But it will be recalled that less than half of this enclave has yet been explored; and further excavation may thus reveal a different state of affairs in the portion yet unexamined.

(c) *Conclusion.* The significance of the sacred enclaves may now be considered. It is first evident that their planning connotes an intimate connexion with the military compounds. This connexion was neither haphazard nor of gradual development, but was the governing feature in the initial design. This does not mean, moreover, that the sacred buildings were here a holy heritage from the past, standing upon ground which, as being sacred, was not to be disturbed. They are contemporary with the third-century compounds and thus belong to an entirely new planning of the site, unrelated to earlier buildings. The kernel of this plan (fig. 4) was a main piazza, isolated from the principal through traffic lines.³² It was bordered on the north by monumental utilitarian buildings, comprising an enormous storehouse, two large granaries and a fountain-head; the last-named feature emphasizing the social aspect of the place. The south side was occupied partly by the compounds and partly by the temples, which completed the group of monumental buildings and closed the east end of the piazza, making of it a veritable *forum*. This was not,

³¹ This arrangement of shrines, both in size and spacing, is much more common than crowded planning: cf. *AA*⁴ xii, pl. xxiv, for shrines at Saalburg.

³² Much has yet to be done to elucidate the street-plan at Corbridge. The east by-pass road evidently continued northwards on lines undetected hitherto: while it is not clear whether the west by-pass from the bridge-head continued northwards to join Dere Street or whether Dere Street itself, as may be suspected, is really the eastern by-pass, continuing obliquely to the bridge from the south-east angle of the compounds.

however, the only ground allotted to religious buildings. The large temples of the east enclave, after encroaching upon one another, spread northwards along the eastern by-pass road. Thus, while the enclaves were intended to provide a principal frontage, they did not in fact monopolize the shrines. From an architect's point of view it is, nevertheless, clear that, in planning the third-century site as a whole, plots of land were allocated to the temples with the same deliberation as to military buildings and that there was an inextricable connexion between them.

The social implications of the unity of plan thus demonstrated are both clear and important. The military buildings themselves have long been recognized to form an altogether exceptional group for a frontier station, since they comprise not the usual fort manned by auxiliaries, but a stores-base and industrial compounds operated by legionaries. The arrangement of the newly-discovered temples, however, implies that the legionaries were definitely authorized to bring their cults with them to their new station and that land was set apart to receive the sacred buildings in the initial survey of the site. As for the cults themselves, their exclusion from the official precincts indicates that, though manifestly sanctioned, they were not on the establishment maintained in direct obedience to regulations. They occupy an intermediate position between private devotion and established worship, having been adopted by the units themselves and evidently sanctioned by authority without being accorded official standing. This provision is indubitably the reflection of conditions long recognized³³ to exist at the legionary fortresses themselves,

³³ For the suburbs or *canabae*, see Tac. *Hist.* iv, 22, *longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in modum municipii exstructa*; also Schulten, *Hermes* xxix (1894) *Das territorium legionis*, 481-516, and Bohn, *Germania* 1926, 25-36, *Rheinische Lagerstädte*. The legal position of such sacred ground is defined as follows, Dig. i, 8, 9, *Sacra loca ea sunt, quae publice sunt dedicata, sive in civitate sint sive in agro. Sciendum est locum publicum tunc sacrum fieri posse, cum princeps eum dedicavit vel dedicandi dedit potestatem*. Contrast Gaius, ii, 7a, *item quod in provinciis non ex auctoritate P. R. consecratum est, proprie sacrum non est, sed pro sacro habetur*; cf. Pliny, *Ep. ad Traian.* 50, on a temple at Nicomedia.

where social amenities were introduced in the cantonments or suburbs. Indeed, it may be held that to have transferred the outstationed legionaries without providing such conditions would have been to condemn them to grievous exile, unprotected by their tutelary gods. The arrangement is thus natural enough in itself. But in British archæology it takes a special place, partly because the British legionary fortresses and their suburbs are inaccessible and partly because legionary outstations are very rare in Britain or in any province. In short, Corbridge provides architectural evidence concerning the legionary cults and their status which is not obtained elsewhere in Britain, and is an example of a legionary outstation without parallel for richness of interest in the wide Roman world.

The structural remains of the temples, though slight, also offer unequivocal evidence for their architectural type. All the temples so far observed have the high *podia* and oblong proportions of Roman temples as contrasted with the Celtic shrines, usually square and devoid of a *podium*. This, too, marks a social distinction of the kind that might be expected in a legionary community, where the soldiers were Roman citizens observing standards which always claimed to be Roman, however unreflective of metropolitan polish. The temple-platforms, however, tell us nothing of the identity of the cults themselves. The barbaric inroad of A.D. 296 dealt very severely with the temples, and the subsequent replanning of the site under Constantius I levelled their ruins to the ground and replaced them by secular buildings of which the pottery-store in the west enclave is an example. But the drastic new planning had a special consequence. Constantian builders packed away the litter of shattered carvings and inscriptions into structures and roadways, which, like the "*Perserschutt*" of the Athenian Acropolis, represented the devastated shrines and sanctuaries of an entire community. These stones are thus the evidence for the cults there practised, whether any connexion with a given temple, headquarters or *schola* can be

proved or not. The broken relics are pre-eminently worth study from this point of view, as constituting the missing evidence for the character and status of the cults of the legionary community.

PART III. THE CULTS.

The religious dedications and sculptures now to be considered fall readily into two main groups. The first comprises established State religions, mostly associated with the *principia* and *scholae* of the official military compounds and regulated by an official calendar³⁴ of observances. The second embraces cults supported by the military units and officially recognized to form part of their social life,³⁵ these being housed in the temples specifically included in the original planning of the station as a whole. This distinction is not in itself novel: but its manifestation in actual monuments is uncommon, and the examples at Corbridge form a rich and illuminating series.

A. OFFICIAL CULTS.

(i) IUPPITER. *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, chief protector of the Roman state, is not represented at Corbridge by a dedication, but four pieces of sculpture may be associated with his image and one with his attributes.

Pride of place is taken in workmanship and dignity by two heads. The first (pl. iv, 2), to about half-scale, is now eight inches high. It was found³⁶ in 1911 in the later fourth-century roadway in front of site xi, and the features seem to have been deliberately smashed away by a heavy

³⁴ The first of these military calendars of religious observances was found at Doura in 1931-32 and has been published by Messrs. Fink, Hoey and Snyder in *Yale Classical Studies*, vii (1940), 1-222. It forms an indispensable basis for all future studies of Roman military religion, and the writer owes the point of view expressed in subsequent pages very largely to its inspiration. It is abbreviated as YCS.

³⁵ Hoey, *Trans. Amer. Philolog. Assoc.* lxx (1939), 466-478: also Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 114, commenting upon the official recognition implied by the Tribune Fresco at Doura, and YCS vii, 32-33.

³⁶ NCH x, 514, no. 39.

blow, leaving only the corner of the dexter eye. But most of the cheek behind this remains, well modelled and graced by a curly beard and moustache. The hair is also curly³⁷ and a laurel wreath encircles the head, which is gracefully poised upon a shapely neck. The carving is throughout delicate and full of feeling, and the piece, however mutilated, must rank as notable. There can be no doubt that it formed part of an official statue such as will have been regularly provided for the *sacellum* of a headquarters building occupied by legionaries.

The second head (pl. iv, 3) is of rather larger scale and is very weathered, so that the features are only just apparent. The beard, laurel wreath and curly hair are better preserved at the sides. The back of the head has evidently been broken off from a further mass of stone, and has plainly been attached to a flat surface. In short, the fragment has belonged to a panel in high relief and of about three-quarter scale, again a notable piece, not to be dissociated from an official building. The weathered state of the piece is comparable with that of the *genius* considered below (p. 160). The find-spot is unknown.

The third piece comprises the head and trunk, carved at about one-third scale, of a freestanding figure³⁸ of Iuppiter (pl. iv, 1). No clothing is to be seen on what remains of the figure; but a cloak may be lost, since the entire left arm, the right leg below the thigh and the left leg below the knee are missing. The hair is curly and cheeks bearded, while the features of the figure, if crudely and broadly carved, are intended for Grecian. The flatness and breadth of the torso are probably concessions to the bedding or dimensions of the sandstone out of which the figure was cut, and within these limits the artist has indicated all outstanding anatomical features. The right arm holds a stout thunderbolt across the right thigh, thus identifying

³⁷ The curls of the hair are quite distinct from those of Neptune which are long and wavy, as befits a water-god. Those of Iuppiter or Zeus are tight and virile.

³⁸ *AA*³ xi, 307, fig. 16=1913 *Report*, 31.

the figure beyond all doubt as Iuppiter. The attitude is also familiar. Iuppiter stripped and ready to hurl his thunderbolt is not the seated Iuppiter, whose sceptred calm and peaceful demeanour were based upon the Olympian Zeus of Phidias: he is *Iuppiter conservator* or *Iuppiter stator*, active protector of Emperor and State, as represented upon the Imperial coinage:³⁹ indeed, the Corbridge figure has an obvious affinity to the type also used for Caracalla's coins⁴⁰ of A.D. 215. The attribute in the missing left arm can accordingly be restored with certainty as a sceptre. The statue is of neither first nor second quality, and is hardly likely to have been issued as an official cult-statue.⁴¹ It is best interpreted as a votive piece, locally produced, the work of a craftsman limited in power, which is to be judged by its intention rather than its execution. Its place will have been the *sacellum* of a headquarters, where the cult of Iuppiter was primarily centred.⁴² The statue comes from the north-east corner room of site xi, which was never finished or occupied and was later buried in a dump of early fourth-century rubbish. The statue lay among the rubbish and thus represents debris of the destruction of A.D. 297.

A sceptre or spear in the hand of a naked or semi-naked god is so generally associated with Iuppiter that a second statue of this deity may be recognized in a fourth fragment (pl. xA, 1), from the *sacellum* of the west headquarters.⁴³ This has been a tall and slender cloaked figure

³⁹ BMC i, pl. 51, 8, *Iuppiter conservator*; iv, pl. 28, 3, *Iuppiter Stator*.

⁴⁰ RIC iv, part i, p. 249, pl. xii, 16.

⁴¹ But official dedications left to local masons might be badly executed, as Arrian (*Periplus*, 1, 2-3) observes in particular detail.

⁴² For altars to *I.O.M.* definitely connected with a legionary *sacellum* cf. CIL viii, 1839; cf. iii, 13443: the *auxilia* are thought by von Domaszewski not to have included *Iuppiter optimus Maximus* in the *sacellum* as being *peregrini*. But, while L. P. Wenham's brilliant study of the Maryport altars (CW² xxxix, 19-30) has amply demonstrated the connexion of Jupiter with the parade-ground, the worship of parade-ground and *sacellum* was in fact complementary, and positive proof that Jupiter was exiled from the *sacellum* is to seek.

⁴³ AA² ix, 258, 272, fig. 19=1912 *Report*, 30, 44

holding a tall sceptre or spear in the left hand. The cloak falls across the right shoulder in carefully cut stylized folds and covers the left shoulder and arm, being draped across thighs and knees. The whole torso from neck to thighs is thus displayed as that of a fine male in prime of life. Detailed study shows that the figure cannot be a *genius* or *Bonus Eventus*, as Haverfield once suggested;⁴⁴ it does not carry a *cornucopia* or *patera*, as on the coinage;⁴⁵ nor does it wear, like *Bonus Eventus* at Caerleon, the travelling costume⁴⁶ of a god who might come in at any door. Haverfield's alternative suggestion of a deity is far more preferable, and the identification as Iuppiter is fully supported by comparison with other representations. Again, since the piece was found in the *sacellum* of the west headquarters, its identification as Iuppiter well fits the place of discovery. The figure is carefully cut, in lines so delicate and flat that it loses something in vigour and poise. The attitude is not that of *Iuppiter conservator* or *stator*: it is more like that of *Iuppiter optimus maximus*, and may well have formed a small cult statue, large enough to be recognized at a distance and light enough for transport when adoration in the wider environment of the courtyard⁴⁷ or the parade-ground was required. The statue was found in the *sacellum* of the west headquarters. Its level, however, was not observed, and the piece may thus belong either to the third century or the fourth.

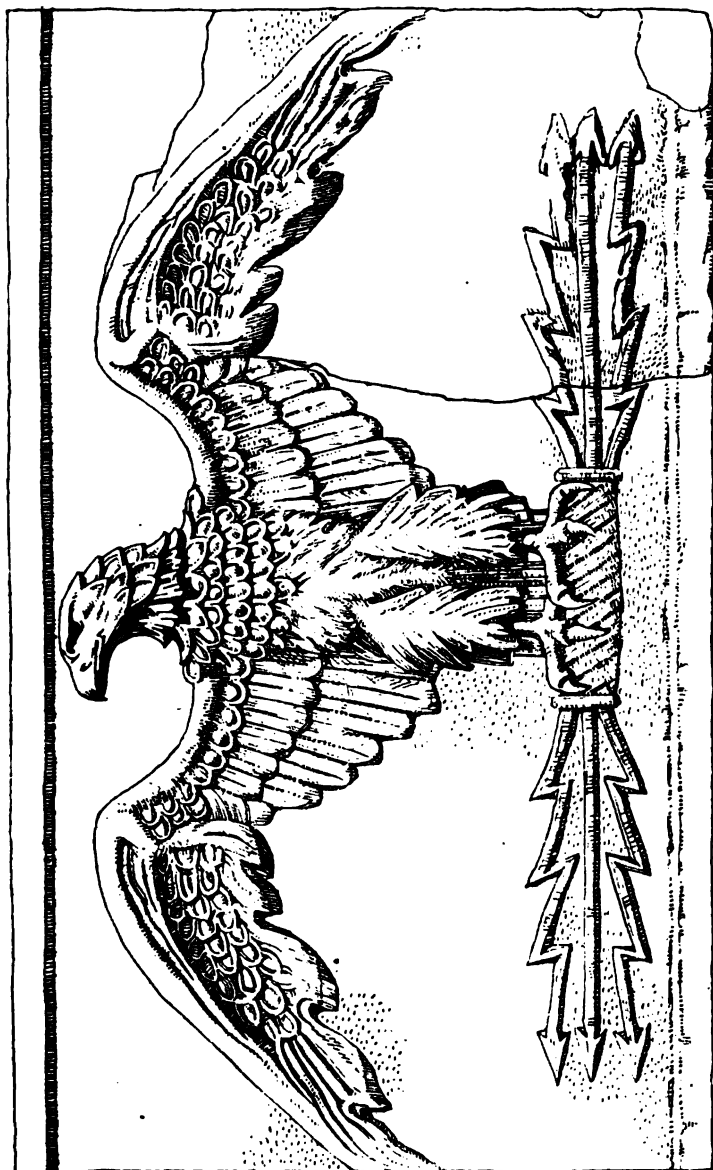
The fifth piece associated with Iuppiter is a fragment (pl. vi, 5) from Corbridge vicar's pele, not hitherto illus-

⁴⁴ Haverfield's opinion was not rigid, *ibid.*; cf. *NCH* x, 513, no. 28.

⁴⁵ See *BMC* iv, pl. 25, 14; cf. also the London statue, Wheeler, *London in Roman Times*, pl. xvi, 1, also *JRS* ii, pl. viii.

⁴⁶ *CIL* vii, 97: figured *Nat. Mus. Wales, Cat. Roman inscribed and sculptured stones found at Caerleon, Monmouthshire*, 1935, pl. vi, no. 29, also von Domaszewski, *Abhandl. zur röm. Religion*, 122.

⁴⁷ It should be emphasized that many dedications described as coming from the courtyards of *principia* come from the so-called "inner court" which is now realized to have been frequently covered (see *AA* xi, 88-90). Even the outer court would hold no more than a few ministrants, as visualized by Hoey, *Trans. Amer. Philolog. Assoc.* lxx, 471. All ceremonies for which the regiment as a whole was on parade must have been held outside the fort on the parade ground.



F. A. CHILD, 1942.

Inches. 3 0 3 6 9 12 15 18 21 24 27 30 Inches.

FIG. 7. JUPITER'S EAGLE, THE LEGION'S EMBLEM: RESTORATION OF A CORBRIDGE PANEL BASED UPON THE SURVIVING SINISTER THIRD OF THE PIECE.

large Corinthian helmet, equipped with a visor shaped to eyes and nose, and surmounted by a streaming plume. There can be little doubt that this armoured goddess is Minerva, reproduced with great fidelity to classic models.⁵⁷ The only possible rival is Dea Roma, whose conventional type is similar and whose cult also occurs at Corbridge (p. 173). But this half-scale panel is too large to harmonize with pieces known to belong to Roma's shrine (p. 176), and Minerva remains in itself the likelier identification. The date of the statue is of the third or early fourth century, since it was found in the roadway of A.D. 369.

(iii) IUNO REGINA. The second member of the Capitoline Triad is a less prominent favourite than Iuppiter or Minerva with the army in Britain. But there is no doubt that she received due honour, and her name occurs frequently in inscriptions to the Capitoline deities by the Rhine or Danube legions.⁵⁸ In the *Feriale Duranum* she must have been included in the yearly homage to the Triad on January 3rd for the Emperor's well-being, as the editors conjecture, though the papyrus is not preserved at the crucial point.⁵⁹ Unlike Iuppiter and Minerva she is, however, rarely worshipped apart from her partners. Her type in artistic convention is well illustrated by the medallions⁶⁰ of Hadrian and Commodus which exhibit the Triad. Iuno is represented as a stately matron, heavily draped and veiled, and holding a *patra* and a sceptre or spear. If the other partners respectively represent power and wisdom, Iuno stands for sacrifice, a less attractive theme.

While, therefore, it is true that no inscription from Corbridge mentions Iuno, the type as defined above inevitably draws attention (pl. v, 1) to a well-carved statue,⁶¹ of two-

⁵⁷ Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire G. & R.* i, 228-238.

⁵⁸ *CIL* xiii, 6727, 7792, 7996, 8624, 8625, 8809, 11815; see Drexel, *XIV Bericht R.G. Komm.* (1922), 48; *CIL* iii, 1078 (*Apulum*), 13443 (*ad Flexum*).

⁵⁹ *YCS* vii, 52: for the necessity see pp. 56-57.

⁶⁰ Gneecchi, *I medaglioni romani*, ii, nos. 35, 63.

⁶¹ The quality of the carving has not been noted, but it takes high rank among Romano-British statuary.

thirds scale, recovered from the roadway of A.D. 369 south of site xi. This piece was described by Haverfield⁶² as wearing the dress of a priestess, with the remark that a priestess, Diodora (see p. 202), was known at Corbridge. But Haverfield did not identify the statue with Diodora herself; and it is in fact most unlikely that Diodora ever received any statue of this kind or wore for her exotic worship of Tyrian Hercules the strictly Roman ritual garments⁶³ in which this effigy is clad. Another possibility, rightly mentioned by Haverfield, is that the statue represented an Empress: but, as he remarked, no likeness to any Empress is apparent.⁶⁴ Further, to choose this particular guise for an Empress was specifically to identify her with Iuno.⁶⁵ Thus, all lines of thought lead forward or back to the Capitoline goddess.

As now preserved, the figure has lost the right fore-arm and the fingers of the left hand. No attribute therefore remains, but the attitude of the left hand makes it certain that the object held therein was a dish or *patera*. The other hand will have held a spear or sceptre. The general air of the statue is graceful and benign, and its exaggerated height adds to its majesty. The goddess wears a long and high-waisted dress, while a large cloak serves as a veil to cover the back of her head, one end falling below the left arm and the other over the right shoulder. The hair is elaborately fixed below the veil in ringlets waved from back to front, as fashionable in the early third century, and the face is Grecian, with arched eyebrows, prominent eyes and short pouting lips, of very much the same style as the features of Minerva (p. 155).

While the scale of the figure is the same as the draped statue of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus (p. 152, see pl. xA, 1),

⁶² *AA³* viii, 200, fig. 17=1911 *Report*, 65; cf. *NCH* x, 511, no. 14. By 1913 the lower part of the statue had been found, see *AA³* xi, 278, fig. 1.

⁶³ cf. Strong, *R. Sculpture*, pl. xi, nos. 24, 29, 34.

⁶⁴ *AA³* viii, 201=1911 *Report*, 65: cf. Haverfield, *PSAL³* xxiv, 270.

⁶⁵ As on the coinage, cf. *BMC* iii, pl. 65, nos. 16-18, Sabina as *Iuno Regina*.

the style of drapery is less stiff and much more attention is paid to underlying form. It does not seem possible that the statues formed part of the same set, though both belong to the environment of the *principia*. Since, however, there are two *principia* to be served in both the third and fourth centuries,⁶⁶ occasions for the existence of four distinct sets of Capitoline statues produced by different hands may be taken to have existed. There is thus ample room for sets of official statues in different styles, quite apart from occasional votive figures. The find-spot indicates that the figure cannot be later than the early fourth century, but the hairdressing attests an early third-century date.

(iv) VICTORIA. In the *Feriale Duranum*, Victoria emerges⁶⁷ as one of the principal State deities, to whom annual vows were made and paid for the Emperor's welfare. This reveals the true significance of the joint dedication⁶⁸ to Mars and Victory at Risingham, and their close association with the *numina Augustorum*. Elsewhere, the connexion between Victory and the Emperor is even more immediate. Official dedications⁶⁹ from Benwell, Greatchesters and Castlesteads consistently refer to *Victoria Augusti*. Dedications to *Victoria Augusti* occur at Maryport, among a group⁷⁰ of altars to *Juppiter optimus maximus* and *Mars*

⁶⁶ It is important to recall that the Diocletianic restoration of the Empire was accompanied by a solemn reaffirmation of traditional religious principles: *ita enim et ipsos immortales deos Romano nomini, ut semper fuerunt, faventes atque placatos futuros esse non dubium est, si cunctos sub imperio nostro agentes piam religiosamque et quietam castam in omnibus mere colere perspexerimus vitam*, see *Coll. lib. iur. antejust.* iii, 157, Edict of Diocletian and Maximian. Hence the cult of Jupiter and Hercules as the tutelary gods of the dynasty and the persecution of Christians on the logical principle previously recognized by Tertullian, *Apol.* 24, *nec Romani habemur qui non Romanorum deum colimus*; see Stade, *Der Politiker Diocletian und die letzte grosse Christenverfolgung* (1926), 157-160.

⁶⁷ YCS vii, 52, 59, quoting also Gagé, *Rev. Hist.*, clxxi (1933), 27-28, *La théologie de la victoire impériale*.

⁶⁸ CIL vii, 1001; NCH xv, 134-135, no. 18.

⁶⁹ CIL vii, 513, Benwell = EE iii, p. 132 = CIL vii, 726, Greatchesters; 891, Castlesteads: cf. CIL xi, 3780, dated to 3 January, 249.

⁷⁰ CIL vii. 386, 390, 391, 394, 395, see Wenham, *CW*² xxxix, 27-29.

militaris, set up by successive *praefecti* of *cohors I Baetasiorum* for the *Feriale's* annual ceremony, which fell⁷¹ on January 3rd. It is thus to be observed that, although an official calendar⁷² scrupulously refrained from qualifying *Victoria* specifically as *Victoria Augusti*, British frontier commandants were either less punctilious or more anxious to demonstrate their loyalty to their commander-in-chief.

That the forthright frontier usage was also current at Corbridge seems attested by a lost altar,⁷³ once built into a cottage at the Hermitage, near Hexham, and therefore much more likely to have come from Corbridge than from any other Roman site. The text read *Victoriae Aug(usti) L. Iulius Iulianus*, though the *cognomen* of the dedicator was less legible than the rest, while the name of the military unit concerned, if ever mentioned, is lost. Among Corbridge sculptures, Victory occurs frequently, though almost exclusively in a minor role. She carries an inscribed tablet, as on the antefix of Mars and Neptune (p. 204); or roundels, as on the pediments of the Twentieth Legion,⁷⁴ both coming from the fountain; or a *vexillum*, as on the panel⁷⁵ of a cohort whose name is lost. She serves as a lateral supporter, holding a *pelta*, as on the inscription to *Sol Invictus* (pl. XB, 1) or on a fine stone⁷⁶ now at the Blackgate, Newcastle upon Tyne. Two small Victories,⁷⁷ respectively 10½ inches and 7½ inches high, the former from the bottom dexter and the latter from the top dexter corner of a panel now in the Museum at Corbridge, are probably also accessory figures (pl. VI, 3, 4) in a larger

⁷¹ For the date, see YCS vii, 52-53.

⁷² YCS vii, 176-177, quoting Tacitus, *Ann.* xv, 74, 4, *deum honor principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierit*; but this is old-fashioned conservatism as compared with later views, cf. *Panegy.* x, 6, 5.

⁷³ *CIL* vii, 480; see Haverfield, *NCH* x, 505, no. 39.

⁷⁴ *AA*³ iv, 278, fig. 14=1907 *Report*, 74=EE ix, 1148a; *AA*³ v, 399=1908 *Report*, 95=EE ix, 1148b.

⁷⁵ *AA*³ ix, 269-270, fig. 18=1912 *Report*, 41-42; cf. *NCH* x, 514, no. 71.

⁷⁶ *AA*⁴ ii, 107, no. 239=*NCH* x, 511, no. 10=*Lap. Sept.* 650.

⁷⁷ The larger of the two is noted in *AA*³ vii, 180=1910 *Report*, 38, as found to south of site xi.

design. They are somewhat sketchily carved, but possess both merit and a sense of movement. In all these pieces, however, the representation is entirely conventional: Victory is a winged figure poised upon a globe and bearing a palm, wreath or *vexillum*. The terrestrial globe is Victory's natural habitation and dominion. Thus, a large globe,⁷⁸ attached to the front of a chamfered pilaster and carrying feet of about half scale, can be recognized as the base of a figure of Victory once some three feet high, which has belonged to an architectural façade. Comparable figures⁷⁹ from Housesteads and Stanwix are now in the Blackgate, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Two aspects of *Victoria* were thus current at Corbridge. As probably the most generally popular goddess of the official group she is widely represented in conventional decoration. But she also received official worship as one of the great State deities; and this more specialized recognition is represented by the lost altar.

(v) GENIUS COHORTIS OR VEXILLATIONIS. A *genius cohortis primae Vardullorum* is recorded upon three altars,⁸⁰ the first erected at Lanchester about A.D. 175, the second and third at Bremenium in the third century, and would receive due worship on the birthday of the unit and other regimental anniversaries. The *genius*, like the tutelary deities of *civitates* or of *centuriae*, is feminine, in agreement with the gender of the cohort which she typifies; and a fine example of the type⁸¹ is provided at Corbridge by a half-scale figure (pl. iv, 5), broken from a decorative frieze or panel and found in 1937, serving as later fourth-century

⁷⁸ This does not appear to be the piece described in *AA*³ viii, 201 = 1911 *Report*, 65 = *NCH* x, 514, no. 58, which is smaller and unattached.

⁷⁹ *Lap. Sept.* 235 (Housesteads), 482 (Stanwix); Collingwood, *AA*⁴ ii, 113, rightly characterizes the latter as an "exceptionally graceful and spirited relief."

⁸⁰ *CIL* vii, 440, *numini Aug. et genio cohortis*; 1030, *genio domini nostri et signorum cohortis I Vardullorum et numeri exploratorum*; 1031, *genio et signis cohortis*.

⁸¹ cf. von Domaszewski, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xiv, 96ff.

road material in the street opposite site xi. There remain the head and torso of an elegant draped female, wearing the turretted crown which relates her to a fortified place and carrying a *cornucopia* on her left shoulder. The face is badly weathered and its outlines, once bold and expressive, have been reduced to shadows. But other details remain: the hair is preserved by its deep cutting in bold flowing curls and fat corkscrew ringlets, while the *cornucopia* is girt with vine leaves and filled with fruit surmounted by a pine-cone. The tunic was fastened with a round brooch on the left shoulder.

The identity of the figure as the presiding *genius* of a military unit is not immediately apparent, though its feminine gender is of some value in restricting possibilities, while the type is closely if crudely matched by a *genius centuriae*⁸² at Carlisle. But another approach to the problem may be made by comparing the Corbridge figure with the fragment in relief already identified as Minerva (p. 156), or, less probably, as *dea Roma*. Stylistically, the pieces (pl. iv, 4, 5) are very similar; the scale, the high relief, the treatment of the hair and the classicism agree so well that the reliefs cannot easily be dissociated from one another: and the association occurs at Carnuntum. But in a military environment a figure of Minerva or Roma must belong to an official monument, and therefore an associated *genius* must be official also, in other words, the tutelary deity of the military unit involved. There is thus good reason for identifying the figure as a *genius cohortis* or *vexillationis*. The date and application of the figures remain to be defined. Both were found in the road-ballast of the later fourth century. It may therefore be inferred that they were smashed in the destruction which ruined the same set of buildings. They are, however, better in execution than many other fragments, as is consonant with their official

⁸² *Arch. Journ.* xxxvi, 154, 1, 302=EE vii, 1082=EE ix, p. 606: for Minerva and a *genius immunium* at Carnuntum see *Der römische Limes in Oesterreich*, Heft vi, 110, fig. 68, and 159-160. A similar *genius* from Housesteads is figured in AA⁴ ix, pl. xxxiv, 3.

character, while their larger scale connects them with a series of panels rather than a single piece. A group of panels from the walls of a headquarters building or a *schola* would best suit the deities represented and a ready explanation of the high quality of the work is to hand if the reliefs are to be associated with legionary vexillations. The discovery of the fragment in the roadway of A.D. 369 indicates that either a third or early fourth-century date is possible.

(vi) SIGNA. Adoration of the standards (*signa, vexilla*) is a well-known feature of Roman military religion, translated into Christian thought in striking passages of Tertullian and Minucius Felix.⁸³ Its occurrence in Britain is attested by two altars from Bremenium, already quoted (p. 160), dedicated *genio et signis cohortis primae fidae Vardullorum* and *genio domini nostri et signorum cohortis I Vardullorum et numeri exploratorum*. At Corbridge no worded dedication survives, but iconographic testimony to the cult, whose principal festivals⁸⁴ were the *Rosaliae signorum* and the birthday of the unit, is afforded by three reliefs.

The first of these was discovered, placed upside down and serving as a flooring-slab, in the fourth-century floor of the east granary (site vii) in 1907. It is part of a decorative dado or screen (pl. xB, 2), divided into narrow bays 18 inches wide and 27 inches high by tall pilasters. The pilasters, standing upon elaborate composite bases, have

⁸³ Tertullian *ad nat.*, i, 12; Felix, *Octav.* 29, 6, *vos plane, qui ligneos deos consecratis, cruces ligneas ut deorum vestrorum partes forsitan adoratis. Nam et signa ipsa et cantabra et vexilla quid aliud quam inauratae cruces sunt et ornatae?* An enactment mentioning the worship appears to be concealed in the fragmentary Severan inscription regarding military posting, from Mainz, see *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, x (1915), p. 112 and note 102 below.

⁸⁴ YCS vii, 115-120, the dates are May 9 and May 31: on the former date roses are rare in northern Britain. See also Hoey, *Harvard Theol. Review*, xxx (1937), 15-35, discussing *Rosaliae signorum*. For the birthday: *natale aquilae*, by *vexillatio leg. VII Geminae*, ILS 2293, 9125, 9126; *natale signorum*, by *coh. I Celtiberorum*, ILS 9127; *natale aprunculorum*, by *coh. I Gallica*, ILS 9128-9131.

five stopped flutings and are crowned by very unusual rectangular caps decorated with a rose, rose-leaves, and a rose-bud chaplet. The crowning details appear upon the sinister pilaster (pl. v, 2), of which the upper two-thirds was preserved in Corbridge parish church, while the lower piece, now recognized to fit, was found in 1908. Only one bay out of not less than three⁸⁵ is now at all complete, and this contains an ensign bearing a tasselled flag bordered with scroll-work on top and sides and inscribed *vexillus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)*. It resembles the Golenicheff flag preserved in the Museum of Tsar Alexander III at Moscow. The flag is carried on a tall pole, provided with a curved hand-grip on the shaft, while the top, now broken away, seems to have been surmounted by a roundel, not a crown. There will not have been room on the stone for more than one roundel, with perhaps a spear-head above it, as on other representations.⁸⁶

As Haverfield observed,⁸⁷ the form *vexillus* is a solecism, "a mere accident due to an individual." Legionaries of the third century were noted⁸⁸ for impurity of speech. It may also be observed that the delineation of the rose is formal and schematic rather than botanically exact. There remains, however, no doubt that the sculptor intended to portray in the surviving bay the standard of a *vexillatio* of the Second Legion. He also decorated his pilasters with direct reference to the *Rosaliae signorum*, of 9 and 31 May,

⁸⁵ The evidence for two other bays consists in the existence of a sinister lateral pilaster (see *AA*³ iv, 266=1907 *Report*, 62), which joins with the piece figured in *AA*³ v, 350, fig. 14, no. 23=1908 *Report*, 46, and fragments of another bay on the dexter side of the main panel.

⁸⁶ *Vexillum* at Bonn, *Germania Romana*, iii², pl. vi, 1: Doura, *JRS* xxxii, pl. v; the Moscow flag is published by Rostovtzev, *Monuments of the Egyptian section in the Alexander III Museum, Moscow*, iii, pl. xxiv, and now *JRS* xxxii, pl. iv: it bears a Victory on a globe holding a wreath and palm-branch, all embroidered in gold on a scarlet field with gold border and tasselled fringe as noted in *PBSR* xiii, 8.

⁸⁷ *AA*³ iv, 266=1907 *Report*, 62.

⁸⁸ Dio Cassius gives a vivid personal recollection of the legionaries posted by Severus to the Praetorian Guard, lxxv, 2, 6, *ἰδεῖν ἀγχιωστῶν καὶ ἀκούσαι φοβερωτάτων ὁμιλῆσαι τε ἀγροικοτάτων*.

when the *signa* were worshipped⁸⁹ and bedecked with rose-chaplets. The decorative treatment was thus intended to recall vividly one of the gayest annual festivals of the regiment intimately associated with the beloved standards. It becomes certain that this slab formed part of the decoration for the *domus signorum* of a *vexillatio* of the Second Legion. The *vexillum* was no doubt the central feature, with other conventional features in the lost lateral panels: and panelling on the wall or on the dais (*suggestus*) itself⁹⁰ would well suit the scale of the slab.

The second and third stones are somewhat different. Both are fragments from the sinister top corners of a set of screens or panels in which a conventional *signum*⁹¹ is used to decorate the lateral border. The standard on the second fragment (pl. vi, 2), found in 1910 in front of site xi, is surmounted by a spear-head, below which is a horizontal cross-bar with lower side shaped to fit closely the topmost member of a pair of embossed roundels fastened to the pole. The standard is framed by vertical strips, but not enough remains to show whether these are intended to frame the composition or to represent hanging fillets, as on the shield-boss⁹² of Dubitatus. The third fragment (pl. vi, 1) exhibits a standard capped by a pelta-shaped ornament. Then comes a cross-bar, from which hang two divided fillets rigidly framing a pair of embossed roundels, placed one above the other. Both standards are thus of the type associated with legionary cohorts. Their plurality might suggest the presence of a vexillation more than one cohort strong; but it would be equally possible to argue

⁸⁹ cf. Pliny, *NH* xiii, 23, *aquilae certe et signa . . . unguuntur festis diebus*: Claudian, x, 187-188, *Laetaturque tamen: Mavortia signa rubescunt, floribus*, where *rubescunt* no doubt refers to roses.

⁹⁰ For the *suggestus* see Tac. *Hist.* i, 36, *in suggestu . . . medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent*. The composition would there have the value of an altar frontal: see also note 105, below.

⁹¹ For the conventional use of *signa* in ornamenting objects connected with legionaries cf. *CIL* vii, 719 = *AA*⁴ ii, 85, no. 101, *EE* vii, 1010 = *AA*⁴ ii, 87, no. 106, *CIL* vii = *Lap. Sept.* 33. For definition of legionary *signa* *PBSR* xiii, 8, note 3.

⁹² *Lap. Sept.*, 106: the piece is now in the British Museum.

either that the vexillation was made up from different cohorts, or that the conventional ornament was not intended to tell any story of the kind.

Architecturally, however, it must be noted that the unbroken top and side of both fragments have been very carefully dressed for bedding and are quite unworn. There is thus little doubt that they have been framed screens or panels. Further, the decoration cannot be divorced from legionaries. The conventionality of the treatment might suggest, however, that this set of reliefs had a less immediate connexion with the *sacellum* or *domus signorum* than is demanded by the *vexillum* relief. It will not be forgotten that administrative rooms⁹³ adjacent to the *sacellum* were also equipped with screens, as at Chesterholm and Risingham, and that, in particular, screens are associated with the regimental cashier's office, where savings' contributions deposited *apud signa* or *ad signa* were disbursed. Again, the *tribunal*⁹⁴ at Chesterholm had a stone panelled front. The decoration is highly suitable for either regimental offices or *tribunal*, as recalling both the traditions and procedure of the regiment and the supreme objects of corporate veneration with which they were associated. The date of the fragments is attested as the third century or early fourth century by the finding of one of them in the roadway of A.D. 369. The conventional form of the standards favours the third century rather than the fourth, when types rapidly changed.

(vii) DISCIPLINA. Closely allied to the cult of the standards is the worship paid to the virtue of military discipline. *Disciplina*, which means⁹⁵ both training and the discip-

⁹³ Chesterholm, *AA*⁴ xiii, 222-225, fig. 1 (A.D. 297-367), 230-231 (third century); Risingham, *NCH* xv, 110-112 (A.D. 297-367); and Doura, *Excav. at Doura-Europos, Fifth season*, 215, pl. xxii, 2, for a screen in a similar position *in situ*. For the savings, see Vegetius, *Ep. rei mil.* ii, 20, *haec ratio apud signiferos, ut nunc dicunt, in cophino servabatur. Et ideo signiferos non solum fideles sed etiam literati homines eligebantur*. Also Cagnat, *Armée romaine d'Afrique*, 390.

⁹⁴ *AA*⁴ xiii, 226-227 (A.D. 369-388).

⁹⁵ cf. Livy, ix, 18, 15, *tironem aut mala disciplina institutum exercitum acceperunt*.

line thus implied, was the cardinal virtue⁹⁶ of the Roman army, upon which every general worthy of the State stringently insisted. Its enforcement was thus particularly referable to the Emperor, as commander-in-chief of the army, and in Britain dedications to *Discipulina*, or *Disciplina*, *Augusta*, *Augusti* or *Augustorum*, are a feature of Hadrian's Wall and its neighbourhood.

The distribution is worth more particular attention. At Castlesteads,⁹⁷ the dedication, found in the fort, was made in A.D. 209-11; at Bewcastle,⁹⁸ an altar was used as building-material in the fourth-century headquarters; at Great-chesters,⁹⁹ a similar stone was seen by Lingard near the *sacellum*; while an altar from Birrens,¹⁰⁰ of the period A.D. 158-197, was found in the well of the headquarters. Thus, the connexion of the stones is undoubtedly with headquarters buildings and not, as von Domaszewski insisted,¹⁰¹ with the parade ground; while their period is of the Antonines and Severi, in harmony¹⁰² with the coinage of Pius and the reputation of Severus as a disciplinarian. There is thus no doubt that in Britain and in the third century the cult of *Disciplina* was part of the official military worship. It is, however, a curious fact that the cult is rare in other provinces, appearing only in Africa and Mauretania, where it is associated¹⁰³ both with the legion and with auxiliary troops. Both Africa and Britain were

⁹⁶ Val. Max. ii, 7, *praecipuum decus et stabilimentum Romani imperii*.

⁹⁷ *CIL* vii, 896=EE ix, p. 605: the point that the stone originally mentioned three *Augusti* was observed first by Bishop Bennet (Lysons, *Cumberland*, p. 154). This dates it to the years A.D. 209-211.

⁹⁸ *CW*² xxxviii, 210, fig. 11.

⁹⁹ As Bosanquet observes, *AA*¹ xviii, 118, quoting Hodgson, *Hist. North.* ii, iii, 203.

¹⁰⁰ *PSAS* xxx, 131=EE ix, 1228.

¹⁰¹ *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, 45: *Der Altar der Göttin kann nur in dem Heiligtum auf dem Exerzierplatze gestanden haben*. It is well to quote this excellent example of Teutonic dogmatism.

¹⁰² *BMC* iv, 199, 270; Herodian, iii, 8, 4-5. The Severan fragment from Mainz, *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, x (1915), p. 112, also records personal measures of the Emperor towards military discipline, see note 83 above.

¹⁰³ The legion, *CIL* viii, 18058=*ILS* 3810, from the *principia*, Lambaesis; auxiliaries, *CIL* viii, 9832 (Altava, Mauretania)=*ILS* 3809; also *CIL* viii, 10657=17585 (Bir Umm-Ali, near Theveste, Africa).

somewhat isolated and perhaps called for more emphasis of this aspect of central authority. Both had supported Albinus.

The Corbridge stones thus add something to our knowledge of the British series, since the first of them (pl. xc) is definitely associated with a legion. This was found¹⁰⁴ in 1911, at the bottom of the stairway connecting the *sacellum* in the west headquarters with the adjacent underground strong-room. Since the excavators did not record the associated stratification, it is unknown how the stone came there, and the full history of the piece is accordingly lost. The shape and treatment of the stone, however, shed some light upon its original function. It is a tall and relatively narrow piece, 3 feet 9 inches high, 1 foot 11 inches wide and 1 foot 8 inches deep; evidently a pedestal and not an altar, for the top has neither *focus* nor bolsters and exhibits a flat surface, roughly dressed as if to take a statue-base. Again, while the front and back faces have been carefully dressed, the sides have only chisel-drafted margins and a belt of fine dressing extending for six inches below the top mouldings. The sides were thus not intended to be seen and it may be thought that the piece was set in a closely-packed row of dedications on the *suggestus* in the *sacellum*, as in the barrack of the *vigiles* at Ostia.¹⁰⁵ Only the front and back of the stone would then be open to inspection. The laconic text reads *Discipuli|nae|Augustorum|Leg|II|Aug(ustae)*; and its association with the *sacellum* founded in the third century suggests that the *Augusti* mentioned are likely to have been the Severi. The legionaries, who were engaged in working iron in the west compound, may well be those who set up the panel of the Second Legion's *vexillum*, already described (p. 162).

¹⁰⁴ *AA*³ ix, 257, 263=1912 *Report*, 29, 35=*EE* ix, 1380.

¹⁰⁵ Lanciani, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1889, 78: the plan is conveniently reproduced by von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des röm. Heeres*, pl. i, fig. 1; and *JRS* ii, 174-175, contains an admirably concise account by Ashby.

The second stone is a Hexham piece, first published by Bosanquet¹⁰⁶ in 1921. This again is not an altar, but a slab (pl. x D, 2) suited for use in niche or lintel. It was set up by a first milliary cohort, almost certainly the Vardulli, the text being restored as [*disci*]p[*ulinae*] *August[orum milite]s coh[ortis] I [f(idae) Vardullo]rum ∞ [C(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitatae) quibus] praees[t]nius Vic[tor trib(unus)]*. The precise date of the stone is unknown, but the plurality of Emperors indicates that it cannot be earlier than Marcus and Verus (A.D. 161-169). Again, the Vardulli were in many periods stationed elsewhere¹⁰⁷ than at Corbridge, as at High Rochester from the time of Severus onwards, at Lanchester about A.D. 175, that is, in the second Antonine period, and at Castlecary on the Antonine Wall, and perhaps at Jedburgh¹⁰⁸ also, either before A.D. 162 or after A.D. 184. Thus, if the whole unit was in garrison at Corbridge, there is some difficulty in finding a date at which it was free for service there, though a second-century stay would fit well, if (*Calpur*)nius Vic(tor), the tribune dedicating this stone, is to be equated with)rnius(.) trib(unus), who dedicated a second-century altar to Apollo Maponus (p. 208). Since, however, the dedication is made by *milites* of the cohort, and not by the unit as such, it is possible that these soldiers may have been seconded for special duties. Even in the early Antonine period Corbridge probably contained such

¹⁰⁶ *AA*³ xviii, 117-120. The top of the slab has a dressed bed, the bottom has a cable mould intended to be seen from below as well as from the front. The slab thus covered an open space or recess.

¹⁰⁷ *Cohors I Fida Vardullorum* was in Britain as attested by *diplomata* in A.D. 98, 105, 122, 124, 135 and 146. It was at Lanchester (*CIL* vii, 440) after A.D. 172 (*JRS* xii, 67) and at Castlecary during the Antonine occupation (*CIL* vii, 1096). A detachment dedicated a shrine at mile-castle 19 on Hadrian's Wall during the second century (*AA*⁴ ix, 205-210). It also appears at Jedburgh.

¹⁰⁸ The date of the Jedburgh sojourn is uncertain. Macdonald suggests "at some period prior to . . . c. A.D. 180" (*PSAS* lvii, 176), and a connexion with the Raetian inscription *EE* iv, 691=vii, 1092, for which Thompson Watkin, *Berwickshire Nat. Club*, 1882-4, appendix, i-iv, suggested a third-century date, further discussed by the writer in *NCH* xv, 99.

detachments, as is indicated by a fragmentary stone¹⁰⁹ recording an official [*a*]g(ens) in *praetentura*. A detachment of Vardulli may, then, have been on duty at Corbridge while the cohort itself was stationed in the neighbourhood, as at Lanchester under Marcus or at High Rochester in the third century. No final conclusion about the date of the stone is therefore possible: the abiding certainty is its connexion with a headquarters building.



FIG. 8. DEDICATION-SLAB FROM A SHRINE TO CONCORD, CORBRIDGE; FOUND IN HEXHAM PRIORY. SCALE $\frac{1}{4}$.

(viii) CONCORDIA. One of the conditions of *disciplina* is *concordia*: and the earliest Roman conception of *Concordia* was as the personification of harmony following civil strife, exemplified¹¹⁰ by the famous temple vowed in 367 B.C. in the Roman Forum or by Cicero's well-known political ideal, *concordia ordinum*. On the Imperial coinage, as Mattingly¹¹¹ observes, *Concordia*, in a more immediate application of the same idea, represents harmony

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* vii, 634: there is no doubt that the inscription here cited is early, since it was cut down to form another slab (*CIL* vii, 664) of either M. Aurelius and Verus or Caracalla and Geta.

¹¹⁰ Vowed in 367 B.C. and built soon afterwards, Livy, vi, 42, 4: for the ideal *concordia ordinum*, Cic. *De Republ.* ii, 42.

¹¹¹ Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, 165: for her type, see pl. xli, 14.

in the Imperial House, the State, or the Army. Dedications to Concord thus occur when harmony is required.

At Corbridge, *Concordia* is represented by a tablet (fig. 8) found¹¹² in 1907 during the restoration of Hexham priory. This is not an altar, but a small ansate mural tablet, 16 inches high and 24 inches long, inscribed *Concordiae Leg VI vi(c) p f et leg XX*. The abbreviations leave it uncertain whether the dedication is to Harmony "of" or "by" the two legions concerned; but the intention is in either case the same, namely, to seek peace between the two units and to ensue it. As such, the dedication is now almost unique in Roman military religion, and is matched only by an altar¹¹³ erected in A.D. 181 at Altrip, near Mainz, by a *beneficiarius consularis* to *Concordia var(iarum) stat(ionum)* or Harmony between the different offices of military police.

Concordia is thus not to be taken as a goddess who normally required invocation, though she occurs not infrequently as a figure of propaganda upon the Imperial coinage, as noted above. Even at Corbridge she may have had no place among the dedications of the *principia*. For her Corbridge inscription evidently belongs to a special shrine. The special circumstances demanding such a dedication are, however, undoubtedly official, arising from the third-century arrangements, when the two compounds were manned by different legionary detachments (*vexillationes*). A standing opportunity for quarrels was then provided and the necessity of avoiding them was ever present. As observed above (p. 135), it is reflected in the very planning of the compounds and the arrangement of their water-supply. Stylistically, the tablet so closely resembles the inscription of Virius Lupus, that the third-century dating is supported from that consideration also.

¹¹² Haverfield, *NCH* v, 505, no. 41=*EE* ix, 1155: the reading was improved upon by Collingwood, *AA*² xx, 64 sq., by which time the stone had left Hexham Priory and was preserved in the Old Pharmacy, Fore Street, where it still is.

¹¹³ *EE* iv, p. 383, no. 110=*ILS* 2401.

(ix) HERCULES. The popularity of Hercules with the Roman army is attested by frequent¹¹⁴ official dedications and by the tithe¹¹⁵ of booty allotted to him, and it is evident that he was worshipped in various aspects. As a god¹¹⁶ of immense physical strength and invincible prowess, his place in soldiers' hearts was assured. As a hero¹¹⁷ of divine fatherhood, who had become subject to man and had successfully rid the world of notorious monsters and evil-doers, he appealed to officers charged with policing a vast Empire. As one who for a season shouldered¹¹⁸ the whole burden of earth, he might properly be considered the Emperor's special coadjutor and type: Commodus, indeed, claimed to be his incarnation.¹¹⁹ Thus, representations of Hercules and his labours, particularly well adapted in themselves to decorative reliefs, were especially popular¹²⁰ as embodying all three conceptions noted above. At Corbridge, the Labours are represented by a bold relief (pl. xA, 2) of the second labour, the Killing of the Lernaean Hydra. This was found¹²¹ in the *sacellum* of the headquarters of the west compound in 1912. The right-hand third of the slab, containing the Hydra, has now disappeared, and the monster is represented only by two coils enveloping the hero's left arm, with which he is holding it off while beating

¹¹⁴ e.g. *CIL* vii, 308, 635, 936, 985, 986; cf. the beautiful bronze statuette from near Birdswald, *Archaeologia*, lv, 199.

¹¹⁵ *EE* ix, 1128; cf. Haverfield, *CW*² xi, 472-3, on the usage.

¹¹⁶ cf. *NCH* xv, 147, and plate, 153.

¹¹⁷ Horace, *Ep.* ii, 1, 6 and 10-14; see also above p. 110, note 64; cf. medallions of Antoninus Pius, Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, 1158-1162.

¹¹⁸ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ii, 5, 11: for the development of the idea see Pliny, *Panegy.* 14, 5, a direct comparison; and Dio Chrysostom, *On Kingship*, i, 49, recommending Hercules as a type. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Euripides Herakles* (1895) i, 102, has some valuable remarks on Herakles and Cynic philosophy.

¹¹⁹ *S.H.A. Commodus*, 8, 5, *appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercules*; cf. *CIL* xiv, 3449=*ILS* 400; also Dio Cass. lxxii, 15, 5. See Rostovtzev, *JRS* xiii, 101-105, on the psychological and traditional reasons for the development: for its reflection on coins, see *op. cit.* pl. vii, particularly nos. 4 and 7.

¹²⁰ As on coins of Maximianus Herculeus, Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pl. lxii, 3, 4: cf. *Lap. Sept.* 739=*CIL* vii, 308, dedicated by a legionary centurion.

¹²¹ *AA*³ ix, 257=1912 *Report*, 29.

it to death with his club. Hercules is a curly-headed, bearded figure¹²² in prime of life, naked except for the lion-skin which lies across his right upper arm and swings free of his left side. His blows are directed with unerring skill by Athena,¹²³ distinguished by her shield and crested helmet; and her small size indicates that she stands in the background.

The piece has a raised border at top and bottom, but the sides have joined with other panels, no doubt portraying other Labours. Scenes from the life of a deity are, however, only the background against which his personality is presented in words. No indication now remains of how the cult was verbally expressed. Risingham altars,¹²⁴ found within the fort, suggest that *Hercules Invictus* will have received an altar in the headquarters building, without necessarily taking a principal place in the *sacellum*. At Birdoswald, an exceptionally interesting relief¹²⁵ associates him with Iuppiter, perhaps in compliment to Diocletianus Iovius and Maximianus Herculeus; while at Burgh-by-Sands¹²⁶ he is associated with the *numen Augusti*. In official worship his place is thus secure but not supreme.

The date of the piece is uncertain, since its stratification was not recorded by the excavators. It cannot be earlier than the third century, since it was found in the *sacellum* of the west headquarters: but it is by no means impossible that it belongs to the early fourth century, as is suggested for the Birdoswald fragment.

A second relief of Hercules, in flatter and apparently less vigorous style, is represented¹²⁷ by three fragments

¹²² cf. the standard type upon coins of Commodus, *JRS* xiii, pl. vii.

¹²³ For Athena as patroness of Hercules, see Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, i, 6, 1, ii, 4, 11, and ii, 5, 6. Also the famous Olympia metopes.

¹²⁴ *CIL* vii, 985, 986; *NCH* xv, 133, nos. 11, 12; no. 986 is dated to about A.D. 205-8, see *NCH ad loc.*

¹²⁵ *Lap. Sept.* 417, now in Lanercost Abbey crypt.

¹²⁶ *CIL* vii, 936.

¹²⁷ I have been unable to find any account of the discovery of these pieces, though there is no doubt they come from the site.

of a cloaked, half-naked and muscular male figure carrying a club. The belly, right fore-arm and left thigh are preserved and the work has been of about one-third scale, but the existing fragments offer no clue to the interpretation of the scene, if scene it was. The attitude suggests a Hercules Victor at rest after his labours, perhaps displaying one of their fruits.

(x) ROMA. The cult of *Urbs Roma* is officially prescribed for Roman troops¹²⁸ in the *Feriale Duranum*. In Britain, it appears on two second-century altars from Maryport.¹²⁹ It also emerges at *Bremenium*, twenty-five miles north of Corbridge, on a third-century altar to *dea Roma*, which has now been recognized¹³⁰ as actually set up on 21 April, the feast of *Natalis Urbis Romae* instituted by Hadrian and calendared in the *Feriale*. At Corbridge no dedication survives, but three sculptured stones are referable to the cult.

The most complete piece (pl. xE), from which only the lateral extremities are missing, was once about 72 inches long and is 23 inches high and 7 inches thick. It is the triangular¹³¹ tympanum of a pediment, once framed in mouldings indicated by carefully-dressed beds. The principal figure is the long, lean Capitoline wolf, who is suckling¹³² Romulus and Remus, twin sons of Rhea Silvia and legendary founders of Rome. Neither wolf nor twins are in the attitude¹³³ chosen for the Imperial coinage and for

¹²⁸ YCS vii, 102-112.

¹²⁹ CIL vii, 370, 392.

¹³⁰ YCS vii, 111, note 426. This expansion of the letters N-EIVS as *n(atali) eius* is far preferable to Huebner's *n(umini) eius* (CIL vii, 1037) adopted in ILS 2631.

¹³¹ The rake is of exactly 30 degrees, three degrees less than that of the pediment of *Sul Minerva* at Bath. This proportion is steeper than in larger buildings, but suitable to the narrow and high proportions.

¹³² Vergil, *Aen.* viii, 630-634, *fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro, procubuisse lupam; geminos huic ubera circum, ludere pendentes pueros et lambere matrem, impavidos; illam tereti cervice reflexa, mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua*. In sculpture, for figurative effect, the wolf stands.

¹³³ cf. Domitian, *AA*³ viii, pl. xv, 5-6=1911 *Report*; Hadrian, *op. cit.* xviii, 5-6; Pius, *BMC* iv, 30, 8-11; 31, 2-7; Constantinian, Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pl. lxiv, 15. Aldborough, F. and H. Elgee, *The County Archaeologies, Yorkshire*, 162, pl. vii.

the Aldborough mosaic. There the wolf commonly faces left, tail between legs, and the twins always face one another. Here the wolf faces right and her tail swings free, while both twins face right, one fondling his wild foster-mother's muzzle, the other greedily feeding. A background of verdure and sunshine is suggested by fruitful vine-stems, which spring from small vases in each lower corner and climb laden to the apex of the panel. The whole composition is a bold and successful attempt to portray the central foundation-legend of ancient Rome. If the stone was originally painted, as may be thought, the effect must have been rich indeed.

The remaining two stones in the group form contiguous parts (pl. x f) of a no less ambitious scene, equally akin to Roman legend. While one, however, is exceptionally well preserved, the other has been grievously defaced by fierce fire. The better fragment, 37 inches high, 25 inches wide and 10½ inches thick, has formed the dexter flank of a moulded panel, and is entirely occupied by three rich vine-stems which spring in haphazard curves from a small vase, thus echoing the treatment of the tympanum and establishing the connexion between them. One stem terminates in the upper corner of the panel, but the other two were continued on the second fragment. On this piece, 37 inches high, 25 inches wide and 9 inches thick, fire has reduced all forms to their barest core. It can be seen, however, that one stem ended on a tree common to the two panels, while the other straggled along the top of the panel, terminating in smaller leaves and shoots. The tree serves not only to support the vine but to bound a leafy glade, where a goat-like figure merrily plays a herdsman's double pipes¹³⁴ and is attended by a dog, much defaced, in the middle background. The glade is further defined by a second larger tree, of uncertain species, which springs from a large vase,

¹³⁴ It will be noted that the *tibiae*, made of the leg-bones of an ox, distinguish cattle-owning communities from sheep-owning folk whose *fistula* is made of reeds. Thus, Pan of Arcadia carries a *fistula*, Faunus of Latium the *tibiae*.

now much defaced but still exhibiting an elaborate foot-stand and recurved sides, with a suggestion of twin handles. This vessel, in fact, repeats in larger form the small *cantharus* from which the lateral vine-stems spring and thus takes an important place in the composition of the piece. Its function in design is to mark the centre of the composition, showing that the existing scene was once balanced by a complementary piece. An interpretation of the subject thus becomes possible. The existing figure is a faun, and, granted the evident connexion with Roman legend, it becomes clear that the scene, like an illustration for a hymn, depicts the opening line in the haunting Vergilian¹³⁵ lay of oldest Rome, "*haec nemora indigenae fauni nymphaeque tenebant.*" The missing *nemus*, to right of the central tree, will have contained a nymph, whom the faun was entertaining with music. No less than the Wolf and Twins, these figures echo the rustic world from which Rome drew her origin and strength, "*duro a stirpe genus.*" Rome is thus revealed as the subject of both reliefs: and the choice of subjects, covering the very foundation-legends of the City, precludes any reference except to *dea Roma*, her divine personification.

The date of the reliefs is demonstrated by indirect evidence. The stones were found¹³⁶ to south of site xi, serving as road-material in the street of A.D. 369. But that phase cannot have been their first adaptation to secondary service. It has been observed¹³⁷ that while the *tympanum* and Faun-panel are heavily burnt, the vine-panel, contiguous to the latter, is unscathed. But if the stones were together overthrown and burnt, the vine-panel could not have thus escaped burning. The fire must, therefore, have occurred when they were already separated and so not in

¹³⁵ In the Greco-Roman world, where literary allusions formed the background of every mode of educated expression, the connexion between art and literature was a commonplace. The allusion here is to Vergil, *Aen.* viii, 314, and, less closely, to *Georg.* i, 10, *et vos agrestum praesentia numina fauni.*

¹³⁶ *AA*³ viii, 200. 15, 15a and 16 = 1911 *Report*, 64 and figs. as quoted.

¹³⁷ Haverfield, *AA*³ viii, 200 = 1911 *Report*, 64.

their original position ; yet still not serving as road-material, where no fire reached them. Since, then, their use in the roadway of A.D. 369 is tertiary, it follows, in accordance with the Corbridge system¹³⁸ of dated periods, that their first separation coincides with the years A.D. 297-367, while their original use will be dated to the third century.

A cult so specifically sanctioned by authority as that of *Dea Roma*, no doubt had a place, as at Bremenium,¹³⁹ in the *principia*, but it cannot have dominated that particular building so powerfully as these reliefs imply. There can be no doubt that, like the tablet to *Concordia* (p. 170), these stones belong to a distinct shrine. Such a building will certainly have received a place in the enclaves, and, although the actual site cannot be determined, some relevant points may be based upon the stones themselves. If the *tympanum* belonged to the front of a building, as is on the whole most likely, the frontage will not much have exceeded ten feet, which will not suit the large temple-platforms of the east enclave, though it is more in harmony with the small buildings in the west enclave. Again, the Faun-panel is too tall to have belonged to an entablature associated with the pediment, though its length, about eight feet excluding an architectural frame, must have been very similar. Its scale is that of a dado, a function further indicated by the rough and irregular back of the panel, which shows that it was not a free-standing piece but was fixed in a wall or similar structure. Thus, the stones imply that the shrine was a small one and that its surfaces, where suited to display, were lavishly decorated with the foundation-legends of ancient Rome.

(xi) MARS ULTOR. The cult of Mars Ultor owed its standing¹⁴⁰ to Augustus, whose famous temple and *forum*, built to commemorate the grim *vendetta* against the slayers of

¹³⁸ AA⁴ xv, 260-266, where the evidence is fully discussed. It should be noted that it is fixed by coins and inscriptions.

¹³⁹ The altar was found in the fort, NCH xv, 149, no. 19.

¹⁴⁰ YCS vii, 120-127.

Divus Iulius, became the official memorial¹⁴¹ of Roman military achievement, with particular reference to settling old scores. This explains why Mars Ultor presided¹⁴² over the shrine for the retrieved standards of Crassus and received¹⁴³ the thanksgiving for the recovery of those of Varus. To him also was dedicated the war-memorial¹⁴⁴ of Adamklissi, while his feast day, 12 May, was chosen¹⁴⁵ for the dedication of Trajan's Triumphal Column. Dedications to Mars Ultor were manifestly too solemn to be numerous, but the official worship of the god was enjoined¹⁴⁶ upon the army for the Twelfth of May.

The Corbridge stone (pl. x D, 1) now to be connected with Mars Ultor was found¹⁴⁷ in 1908, near site xi. It is a fragment, 10 inches high and 8 inches wide, broken from the corner of a free-standing monument framed in angle-pilasters. The pilasters have stopped flutings, which make possible an estimate of its height as approximately 19 inches, exclusive of mouldings at the top and base. The text is fragmentary, and it is uncertain whether we possess either its first or last lines. The last surviving line mentions a *tribunus*, while the second contains the numeral VI, referable to an army unit. Haverfield rightly observed that this indicated a tribune of the Sixth Legion; for the numeral cannot refer to a milliary cohort of auxiliaries, which a tribune might also command, since cohorts of this size in Britain do not reach so high a numeration as six.¹⁴⁸ Haverfield further read¹⁴⁹ the initial letters of the first surviving

¹⁴¹ Suet. *Div. Aug.* 29, 2, *pro ultione paterna*; also *CIL* i, p. 229. For Augustus's ferocity of temperament, see Suet. *Div. Aug.* 13. For the development, see Dio Cass. iv, 10, 3; Tac. *Agr.* 40.

¹⁴² Dio Cass., liv, 8, 3.

¹⁴³ Tac. *Ann.* ii, 22

¹⁴⁴ *CIL* iii, 12467.

¹⁴⁵ Calza, *Not. Scavi* 1932, 201; Hülsen, *Rh. Mus.* lxxxii (1933), 375: attention to the date is drawn in YCS vii, 123, note 510.

¹⁴⁶ YCS vii, 120. To confound *Mars Ultor* with *Mars Militaris* is a phantasy begotten by von Domaszewski out of Petersen, see *Die Religion des röm. Heeres*, 34, note 146.

¹⁴⁷ *AA*³ viii, 187-188 = 1911 *Report*, 51-52.

¹⁴⁸ Cheesman, *Auxilia of the R.I.A.*, 148-149.

¹⁴⁹ *AA*³ viii, 187-188 = 1911 *Report*, 51-52, cf. *NCH* x, 501, *EE* ix, 1383.

line as *ve[xillatio]*. But these letters are well preserved; and the second is not a fragmentary E, but L, there being ample room for the central cross-bar of an E to have appeared, had it ever existed (pl. x D, 1). The letters are in fact VL, closely followed by an upright stroke. Granted, then, that the very careful composition of this text commences each line with a new word, *Ul(tori)* remains the only suitable restoration, and *Marti*, or, more probably, *deo Marti*, will have preceded it. The remainder of the text may be restored as Haverfield suggested, including the word *vexillatio*, for a tribune can have commanded a detachment of the legion only. His suggestion, that Cn(aeus) Iul[ius Verus] was the provincial governor mentioned in the third existing line, may be acclaimed as especially happy, since it provides an entirely adequate historical setting for the dedication. Verus was the governor associated¹⁵⁰ with the restoration of A.D. 158 at Birrens and with building at Brough in Derbyshire, following the British war of A.D. 155. That this campaigning had either found the legions in Britain weak, or had left them weakened, is sufficiently well attested by the Blackgate inscription¹⁵¹ from *Pons Aelius*, recording drafts from Germany for all three legions. This argues that there were circumstances calling for intervention by Mars Ultor, and it is not, therefore, surprising to find a dedication to him at Corbridge, the natural centre for control of the eastern border.

The form taken by the dedication was almost certainly a statue, for altars are rarely framed in pilasters, and the whole composition, if small in scale, has a monumental air. The lettering is especially good. No doubt the dedication was official, since the worship of Mars Ultor is prescribed¹⁵² in the *Feriale Duranum*. The statue would thus be an appropriate ornament of the *sacellum* in a second-century

¹⁵⁰ *EE* ix, 1230 (Birrens), 1108 (Brough). The war is attested by coins *RIC* iii, p. 142, cf. Macdonald, *R. Wall in Scotland* (2nd edn.) pl. i.

¹⁵¹ *EE* ix, 1163=AA⁴ ii, 78-79 and 67, pl. iv.

¹⁵² *YCS* vii, 120.

principia. The tribune was probably seconded from his base at York for special duties.¹⁵³

B. UNOFFICIAL CULTS.

(i) IUPPITER DOLICHENUS. The worship of Iuppiter of Doliche is attested at Corbridge by an altar, described below (p. 193), which is dedicated to him and to *Caelestis Brigantia* and *Salus*. Doliche was a holy hill in Com-magene, still bearing the name Tell Dülük, and the cult there established appears to go back to Hittite times, though little is known¹⁵⁴ of its pre-Roman development. Roman religious inscriptions celebrate Dolichenus in two aspects. He is first described¹⁵⁵ as "eternal preserver of the firmament" or "pre-eminent provider invincible"; and it is thus not difficult to see how this aspect fitted with *Iuppiter optimus maximus* and included a female consort equated with Iuno, the Queen of Heaven. Iconographically,¹⁵⁶ the celestial might which this aspect emphasizes is typified by his double axe and thunderbolt, while creative and fertilizing power is represented by the bull upon which he invariably stands, his queen standing upon a cow or a hart. Secondly, the inscriptions,¹⁵⁷ particularly in the military areas, emphasize the association of Dolichenus with iron, describing him as "*natus ubi ferrum exoritur*" or "*ubi ferrum nascitur*." This description, as Dr. A. B.

¹⁵³ We cannot be quite certain that the tribune was in garrison, for a dedication to Mars Ultor might have been made, after action in the field, as the result of a vow: but it is nevertheless likely that the dedicat-
or fulfilled his vow at his quarters for the time being, and a tribune is a very likely official to have been in charge of an advance supply depot.

¹⁵⁴ For the hill, see Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin (1890), p. 400. The pre-Roman evidence is cited by Cook, *Zeus*, i, 604-606: cf. the remarks of Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, ii, 36-43.

¹⁵⁵ "*Dolicheni aeterni conservatori totius poli*"; "*numini praestantiss(im)o exhibitori invicto*," *CIL* vi, 406=30758=*ILS* 4316.

¹⁵⁶ cf. Komlod relief, reproduced by Cook, *Zeus* i, 616, fig. 487, for Dolichenus alone: for Dolichenus and Iuno, see Komlod relief, Cook, *Zeus*, i, 616, fig. 488. Rome relief, Colini, *Bull. Com.* lxiii (1936), pl. iv.

¹⁵⁷ *Ubi ferrum nascitur*, see *CIL* vi, 30947=*ILS* 4302, *CIL* iii, 11927=*ILS* 4301; *ubi ferrum exoritur*, *CIL* iii, 1128=*ILS* 4303.

Cook observes,¹⁵⁸ doubtless refers to the god's place of origin, in the Hittite mountains of Pontus, where ancient geographers record natural iron, probably schist ore. Thus, while on general grounds the all-powerful god of iron won the devotion of the Eastern army and was introduced to the West by soldiers and an energetic priesthood,¹⁵⁹ the iron-working depot at Corbridge gave the cult a special local appeal and almost makes its presence inevitable.

Another particular feature of the cult is its attraction of other deities, for *Iuno Regina* was not the only deity whom Dolichenus took to his household. The Lord of the firmament was conceived to dominate¹⁶⁰ its principal planets. Sun and Moon, in their Roman guise¹⁶¹ of *Sol* and *Luna*, and the morning and evening stars or twin hemispheres of light and darkness, personified¹⁶² as *Castor* and *Pollux*, thus became prominent secondary figures in the cult; while the *Dolichenum* of the Aventine, recently described¹⁶³ by Colini, also attracted to its courts Apollo and Hercules, Mars and Minerva, Serapis and Isis. These additional Aventine deities, however, are not a sign of doctrinal amplification. The manifest policy of the priests¹⁶⁴ of

¹⁵⁸ *Et. mag.*, p. 805, 22f.. of the Chalybes, ἐνθα ὁ σιδηρος τίκτεται οἱ δ' αὖ
ὁ σιδηρος γίνεσθαι. Strabo, *Geogr.* xii, 3, 19, ἐκ δὲ τῆς γῆς τὰ μέταλλα, οὗν μὲν
σιδήρου . . . ὑπέρκειται γὰρ εὐθὺς τὰ ὄρη μετάλλων πλήρη.

¹⁵⁹ Hoey, *Trans. Amer. Philolog. Assoc.* lxx (1939), 473. It is of significant interest to compare the contemporary diffusion of Christianity by the same means, but without State sanction.

¹⁶⁰ cf. *Syria*, 1931, p. 95, where an Assyrian relief figures the sun and moon with two attendant *genii*: also the firmament on the *cornucopiae* held by the Tyche of Alexandria on a Boscoreale cup, *Mon. Piot*, v, pl. i.

¹⁶¹ cf. *Zeus*, i, C10, fig. 479=CIL vi, 31181, dedicated by a priest of Dolichenus to *Sol invictus*, or the plaques from Komlod (see note 156), Traizmauer (Münsterberg, *Jahresh. d. Öst. Arch. Inst.* xi (1908) 231, pl. 7) and Heddernheim, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cvii, fig. 8.

¹⁶² CIL vi, 413=ILS 4320, dedicated *Castoribus et Apollini*: Noll, *Der grosse Dolichenusfund von Mauer a. d. Url*, Vienna, 1938, no. 3, has a dedication *Castori et Polluci*. For literary references, see note 177; for iconography, see note 181.

¹⁶³ *Bull. Com.* lxiii (1935), 145-159: Colini's explanation of the reasons for the syncretism (*loc. cit.* 155) is unacceptable, as Hoey observes, *Trans. Amer. Philolog. Assoc.* lxx (1939), 473, note 89.

¹⁶⁴ Hoey, *loc. cit.* 473.

Dolichenus was to popularize their cult by associating other deities with it, and no other eastern priesthood spread its net thus wide. It is clear that Dolichenus, unlike Mithras or Cybele, appealed to Rome on the basis of bold and open compromise with existing cults rather than by occult mysteries related to the individual soul.

(a) *A frieze.* A realization of the fully Roman stage-setting¹⁶⁵ in which the worship of Dolichenus was performed makes it possible to begin the study of his cult imagery with a well-known Corbridge piece, hitherto called¹⁶⁶ "The Apotheosis." Three fragments of this work, forming a portion 44 inches long, 21½ inches high and 4 inches thick, were discovered in or on the loading-platform¹⁶⁷ of the west granary (site x) in 1908. Thirty years later, a fourth fragment of the same frieze was found¹⁶⁸ in workshop III of the west military compound, where it was used face downwards as a paving-stone in the Constantian floor. This fragment attached to the others (pl. VII, 3), increasing their combined length to 62 inches, and it further indicates that the frieze which they formed was broken in the destruction of A.D. 297. The piece thus belongs to the period of the temple-platforms.

The fragments found in 1908 contain two figures. A

¹⁶⁵ The connexion of Roman religions with tableau-like display is sometimes forgotten: we may compare *CIL* vi, 30758=ILS 4316 from the Aventine *Dolichenum*, which mentions *tabula(m) marmorea(m) cum proscaenio et columnis* or *CIL* vi, 414, from the Esquiline, mentioning *tetrastylum nymphaeum*. Also the actual street procession of the god carried by his litter-bearers *lecticari(i) dei* (ILS 4316), to be compared with the stage-tableau mentioned by Apuleius, *Metam.* x, 31, see note 182 below.

¹⁶⁶ For earlier studies see Cumont, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1910, 152, fig. 21, and Haverfield, *JRS* ii, 136-138. Cumont perceived the connexion with a solar cult and Haverfield noted the balance of the Dioscuri, but it is the fourth fragment since discovered which provides the clue to interpretation.

¹⁶⁷ *AA*³ v. 311=1908 *Report*, 7. Their position was not accurately described. Enough mortar, however, still adheres to the burnt surface of the sculpture to show that after its destruction in a fire it was used face-downwards as a building stone.

¹⁶⁸ *AA*⁴ xvii, 108.

rider, youthful, clean-shaven and curly-headed, wearing knee-breeches, tunic, billowing cloak and radiate crown, flies through the air on a winged horse, proceeding right. His right hand,¹⁶⁹ not extended in greeting, grips the creature's forelock and guides his steed towards a sumptuous pillared hall, apparently of L-shaped plan. The tiled roof of the building is gay with foliate antefixes, while the front gable has a pediment carried by two columns with Attic bases and conventionalized Corinthian capitals. A rich beribboned swag, hanging from the eaves in the background, shows that the building is sacred;¹⁷⁰ and is in fact hallowed by the presence of a *Dioscurus* and his steed in the main wing. The magic horse, mettlesome and restive, is checked by its divine rider's left hand and stands upon a separate block of ground, as relegated¹⁷¹ to a different plane. The god, clad in a Phrygian cap, stands almost frontally, with a light cloak draping his chest and falling over his right shoulder in easy folds: his legs take the Polyclitan stance¹⁷² and he leans lightly upon a lance of Roman army pattern¹⁷³ held in his right hand.

The new fragment does not complete the foregoing scene, but amplifies and defines it. It confirms that the building was an L-shaped hall, in which the back wing was represented by a single intercolumniation decorated with a swag. The artist has in fact saved space without sacrificing detail regarded as important for expressing the meaning of the scene. The end of the building, shown¹⁷⁴ in section rather than perspective, is seen immediately be-

¹⁶⁹ The suggestion adopted by Haverfield that the hand is extended in greeting (*NCH* x, 500) must be abandoned: as Haverfield had earlier observed (*d.d.* v, 312=1008 *Report*, 8), the hand firmly holds the horse's forelock, wherein lay the creature's magic power.

¹⁷⁰ cf. Gnecchi, *I medaglioni romani*, ii, 55, no. 9.

¹⁷¹ For a notable example of the method, see Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pl. lxxxii, the *decursio* on the column of Antoninus Pius.

¹⁷² Pliny, *NH* xxxiv, 55, on Polyclitus, *proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse*.

¹⁷³ cf. Collingwood, *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, fig. 65, f.

¹⁷⁴ For the attitude towards perspective in Roman art, see Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 114-116.

hind the column from which the newly-revealed end of the swag is suspended. The older scene here terminates. In accordance with classical convention,¹⁷⁵ the beginning of a new scene is indicated first by the occurrence of a second boundary feature next to the wall of the building, namely, a large deciduous tree, and secondly by the fact that the first figure beyond the tree turns its back upon the older view. This figure is a well-built youth, with flowing hair and gaze intent upon the main actors in his scene. The front of his head has, however, vanished, nor does any attribute survive to indicate his identity. It can be observed only that his nudity indicates¹⁷⁶ divinity, while his build suggests manly Apollo rather than muscular Hercules or delicate Dionysus. The new fragment thus introduces a scene without illuminating it.

Returning then to the older scene, it is now clear that the Divine Twin, established in his heavenly mansion, was its right-hand lateral figure. Further, since a subdivision into scenes is demonstrated, it may be assumed that the left-hand lateral figure in this scene was the other Twin, similarly represented. The attitude chosen, of a rider beginning or ending a journey, admirably suits both the composition of a balanced piece and the mythical doctrine¹⁷⁷ of the Twins, who were fabled each alternately to spend every other day in heaven or on earth and were ranked cosmologically as the morning and evening stars or as the

¹⁷⁵ For this usage cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 210, commenting upon the breaking of scenes without breaking continuity on Trajan's column. The features have the value of a *caesura*.

¹⁷⁶ cf. the remarks upon the *Dioscuri* below, p. 187.

¹⁷⁷ For the connexion with earth, Homer, *Od.* xi, 301-304; cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, iii, 11, 2. Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροισ παρ' ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν θεοῖς εἶναι καὶ ἐν θνητοῖς ἔδωκε. Later, owing to a natural confusion, it was thought that they changed dwellings, Hygin. *poet. astr.* ii, 22, *itaque alternis diebus eorum quemque lucere*. For the stars, Statius, *Silv.* iv, 6, 14-15, *ab Elysiis prospexit sedibus alter, Castor et hesternus visit Tithonia mensas*: Germanicus, *Aratea phaenomena*, ad v. 147, *nam et horum stellae ita se habent ut, occidente una, oriatur altera*. For the hemispheres, Philo Iud. *de decal.* 12, τὸν τε οὐρανὸν εἰς ἡμισφαίριον τῷ λόγῳ διχῇ διανέμωντες τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς Διοσκόρους ἐκαλέσαντο; Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* 9, 37, τὰ γὰρ δύο ἡμισφαίρια, τὸ τε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆς Διοσκοῦρους οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον.

light and dark hemispheres of the classical firmament. The heavenly setting is further conveyed by the winged rider through space, who is to be regarded no longer as a central figure, but as a second subordinate figure hastening towards the edge of a scene. He cannot therefore be an Emperor,¹⁷⁸ and his radiate crown and winged horse must be taken to indicate *Sol*, the Sun-god, as he is frequently represented¹⁷⁹ in Asia Minor, in a form intermediate between the classical sun-chariot and the solar bust. The complementary figure on the left flank must then have been *Luna*, the moon-goddess, the only possible figure in apposition. The scene thus turns out to be the heavenly firmament, in which there is "one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars"; it is not an apotheosis, and there can no longer be any doubt to what cult it belongs. The intention was to magnify a god of the firmament in his dominion. *Sol invictus* must therefore be excluded, since *Sol* is here himself a subordinate figure. A Mithraic reference may also be rejected, for although Sun and Moon do adorn¹⁸⁰ certain elaborate Mithraic reliefs, they never occupy so exclusive or so prominent a place. But the place of the *Castores*, *Sol* and *Luna* as leading accessory figures¹⁸¹ in the cult of Iuppiter

¹⁷⁸ *JRS* ii, 138, though it should be said that Haverfield was sceptical of the interpretation.

¹⁷⁹ For the winged horse as symbol of Apollo, see Roscher, *Myth. Lexikon*, iii, 2, 1743; cf. Haverfield, *JRS* ii, 137, note 3. The type here is closely allied to the figure of Apollo as on the *Grand Camée de France*, see Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, plate xxxi.

¹⁸⁰ cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, ii, 194, fig. 20 and *passim*.

¹⁸¹ For this cf. Rome, *Bull. Com.* lxiii (1935), Colini, *La scoperta del santuario delle divinità dolichene sull' Aventino*, 153, fig. 9, also tav. 4; also *sigilla Castorum marmorea* mentioned in the dedication of L. Tettius Hermes and dedications to *Sol* and *Luna* mentioned by Colini, *Epigraphica*, I (1939), p. 123, fig. 12, and p. 135. MAUER A. D. URL, R. Noll, *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Führer durch die Sonderausstellung, Der grosse Dolichenusfund von Mauer a. d. Url*, pl. v, also no. 3, *Castori et Polluci sigillum*. LAURACUM, the bronze plaques illustrated in *Der Römische Limes in Oesterreich*, x, III, fig. 51, figuring the Dioscuri flanking the planetary globe, belong to a similar monument. MAINZ, *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, i (1906), p. 93, an altar to Dolichenus with the *Castores*: as Picard, *RHR* 1934, 73-82 remarks, *Les Castores ont dû se substituer à des acolytes barbares du grand dieu orientale*; this is the

Dolichenus is assured. Accordingly, the missing central figure in this scene may be restored as Dolichenus himself, holding double-axe and thunderbolt and standing upon a bull. So much elaboration, however, is here accorded to the subsidiary figures, that other figures also may have taken their part in the rich and imposing tableau.¹⁸² We can attempt to restore only the general sense of the relief.

The division into scenes, which thus forms the clue to the interpretation of the piece, is thoroughly characteristic of the iconography of Dolichenus. A great epiphany of Dolichenus and his consort Juno, Queen of Heaven, can indeed form the subject of one large panel.¹⁸³ But the divine pair are more often treated apart; and important representations¹⁸⁴ of the cult, among which the Corbridge piece takes a very high place, include many associated deities, as Victoria, Apollo, Hercules, Mars and Minerva, or Serapis and Isis. There is thus ample scope for the development of the second scene indicated by the new fragment, in which Apollo seems to play a minor part while *Iuno Regina* will have been the central figure.

Architecturally, the piece has formed a frieze, set in a sheltered position protected from weathering.¹⁸⁵ The height, 21 inches, would well suit an imposing principal entablature:¹⁸⁶ and the building to which it belonged cannot have been very small, since the existing fragments

real significance of the action of Gaius, Suet. *Gaius*, 22, *consistens inter fratres deos se adorare ingredientibus exhibebat*.

¹⁸² For an actual tableau in which the Castores attend upon Juno, cf. Apuleius, *Metam.* x, 31, *Iunonem quidem Castor et Pollux, quorum capita cassides ovatae stellarum apicibus insignes contegebant*. For the connexion of *Iuppiter* and the *Dioscuri* see BMC iii, p. 86, pl. ix, 6, on a coin of Aelia Capitolina.

¹⁸³ e.g. Colini, *Bull. Com.* lxiii (1936), pl. iv, and fig. 9.

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*; also collection of statues including Diana and Iphigenia, Omphale, Hercules Victor, Silvanus, Minerva, and Genius: cf. Victory, Noll, *op. cit.*, no. 5.

¹⁸⁵ The relief is astonishingly fresh. The apparent weathering perceptible upon the new stone is not weathering but exfoliation of this stone due to its position upside down in a damp floor founded upon clay.

¹⁸⁶ In the Corinthian composite Order the frieze would equal three-quarters of a module, the whole being $12\frac{1}{2}$ modules or 29 feet high: see *The American Vignola* (1904), plate ii.

imply at least two scenes, each not less than seven feet long. The composition would well suit the actual shrine containing the cult-statues of Dolichenus and his consort. The work, though not first-class, is of a high order¹⁸⁷ for provincial sculpture, and the shrine which it adorned must have been the sumptuous centre of a well-supported¹⁸⁸ cult. The date of the piece, as indicated above (p. 181), is the third century.

(b). *Two panels or metopes.* The frieze just discussed is not the only manifestation of the *Dioscuri* at Corbridge suggestive of Dolichene worship. We may next consider three sculptured fragments found¹⁸⁹ in 1908 on site xii, where they had been built into an internal cross-wall, again of the early fourth century. Like the frieze, this piece was evidently also in use during the third century and was burnt during the destruction of A.D. 297. The fragments (pl. VII, 1) have formed a single panel, but a strip about four inches wide was lost from the middle when the stone was cut up for building. The top left-hand fragment, heavily burnt, has much decayed¹⁹⁰ since its discovery, but has now been treated against further disintegration.

The subject is a youth, standing frontally and holding a spirited horse facing right. The figures are cut in abrupt high relief and the details of the horse's head are incised in deeply cut lines, as if the carving were a groundwork for paint.¹⁹¹ The horse's mane is plaited, its head is crowned by a bold plume, the bridle is inferred rather than

¹⁸⁷ cf. *JRS* ii, 136.

¹⁸⁸ cf. Hoey's remarks, *Trans. American Philolog. Assoc.* lxx, 469, on the relationship between high officials and unofficial cults.

¹⁸⁹ *AA*³ v, 343-344 = 1908 *Report*, 39-40, fig. 11: to the circumstances as there described may be added the comment that since the hoard of coins of Magnus Maximus, of the period A.D. 369-388, lay above this level and dissociated from it, the level in question should belong to the period A.D. 297-367.

¹⁹⁰ This was due to the fact that the severe burning of the stone had destroyed its natural binding, disintegration setting in when the stone was exposed to frequent changes of temperature and humidity. It is now impregnated with artificial binding.

¹⁹¹ cf. *NCH* xv, 147, no. 10, and the remarks there made upon painting.

shown. The youth has been naked, except for a cloak falling over his left shoulder and upper arm in deeply incised folds which again call for a coat of paint. His curly head is crowned by a Phrygian cap, but of the features there remain only about three-quarters of a very large eye, with eyelids marked by prominent raised borders. The right half of the trunk and the lower left leg have also vanished: but the lower right leg is seen on the left-hand fragment, together with the top of a long barbed spear. Since the butt of this spear occurs on the right-hand fragment, the stones can be placed in register. The panel, $23\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and 4 inches thick, was once some 23 inches wide.

The subject is indubitably a divine personage or hero, though it has been called¹⁹² a man, or even an auxiliary soldier, in defiance of Roman civil and military conventions. The young naked horsemen, wearing Phrygian cap and light cloak and armed with spear, are well known to Roman religion as the *Castores* or *Dioscuri*; and it may be concluded that the panel had a duplicate, in which the other Twin held a horse facing left, the two figures being complementary in a scheme of decoration. Before considering the nature of this scheme, however, it must be observed that the *Dioscurus* panel does not stand alone. It is closely matched in style and size by a second relief, now to be described.

The second panel (pl. VII, 2), bearing the well-known figure of *Sol*, was found¹⁹³ serving as fourth-century flooring in the east granary (site vii) and therefore goes back to the third century. It is 22 inches wide, $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 4 inches thick, and its whole surface is filled to bursting-point by a large radiate draped bust of *Sol*, obviously akin¹⁹⁴ to the radiate busts of *Sol* and *Luna* which occur

¹⁹² *NCH* x, 513, no. 29, "a man."

¹⁹³ *AA* v, 321, fig. 5=1908 *Report*, 17. The date of the flooring is fixed by the coins, which, as Haverfield remarked (*op. cit.* 94), can hardly have been connected with the function of the building as a granary.

¹⁹⁴ cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 123, and ii, *passim*: for radiate busts with nimbus, see note 196.

in pairs upon the reliefs of Eastern cults. The hair, unbound¹⁹⁵ and flowing in waves, frames an ovoid face with very large eyes, a crude nose intended as Grecian and full pursed lips which by their very coarseness convey unrelenting power and pride. The head is encircled by a nimbus, as not infrequently¹⁹⁶ in these busts, and by eight spiky rays, deeply and abruptly cut. Over the left shoulder the rays cross the rod of a whip, whose triple lash hangs at the side of the panel, sole reminder of the chariot which the classical Sun-god drove. The drapery of the bust can be distinguished as a tunic with corded neck and a cloak fastened with a round brooch on the right shoulder, but is treated a mere appendage not related to underlying form.

The technique of the relief has evoked learned comment¹⁹⁷ from authorities conversant with metropolitan fashions in late-Imperial art. The face has been compared with fourth-century Imperial portraits and the nimbus with that of *Sol invictus* on the Constantinian coinage. But, as Haverfield remarked, these comparisons are of little value in dating such crude provincial work. There are, however, striking immediate resemblances between this relief and the *Dioscurus* panel, as in the type of stone, the abrupt deep contours, the treatment of the eyes and the tooling¹⁹⁸ of the background. Indeed, the resemblances suggest that the stones are not only contemporary, as noted above, but carved by the same hand, and their dimensions are sufficiently close to place them in the same series.

The two reliefs thus take their place in a set of decorative panels, in which the *Dioscuri* and the Sun and Moon will have been grouped in corresponding pairs. It will not escape notice that, iconographically, this is the same result

¹⁹⁵ The waved hair has been mistaken for a diadem or "jewelled fillet," *NCH* x, 509, a detail which Haverfield rightly doubted (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁹⁶ cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, ii, 202, fig. 29 (Esquiline Mithraeum), 290, figs. 144 and 145 (Sarmizegethusa), 311, fig. 169 (Apulum).

¹⁹⁷ *AA³* v, 322 = 1908 *Report*, 18: cf. *JRS* ii, 136-137.

¹⁹⁸ The tooling has been done with a sharp-pointed punch, which has here and there skidded too deeply into the stone.

as in the frieze already described. These pieces also are thus to be recognized as Dolichene cult-imagery. Their place will be discussed below (p. 196).

(c) *A pediment.* The fragments so far considered belong to architectural pieces of self-evident form. Two smaller fragments also come from some kind of panel, but too little survives for an immediate perception of its shape. The larger fragment is 16 inches long by 9 inches wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, while the smaller, consisting of two conjoined pieces, is 14 inches long by 5 inches wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Both fragments exhibit one edge of the panel to which they have belonged.

The larger fragment (pl. VIII, 1), found¹⁹⁹ in 1907 during the excavation of site x, amid unrecorded circumstances, has a border of bold swags, composed of trifid leaves in corresponding sets of three and a quatrefoil flower in the middle. They are suspended from *bucrania*, much foreshortened, of exaggerated fatness and best identifiable by their horns. One and a half swags remain. Immediately within the field thus bordered, and crowding in upon the complete swag, appears a horse's head, facing left, carved with the bold abrupt contours and deeply incised details characteristic of the *Sol* and *Dioscurus* panels, and already explained (p. 186) as a preparation for painting. On the horse's head much attention has been paid to detail of the ears and forelock and to the fingers of a guiding hand²⁰⁰ emerging from behind. The horse has a wing, whose short stylized feathers are deeply incised and form a large vertical plume above the head, to which the tufted roots of other pinions seem to lie at right-angles.

An architectural interpretation of the fragment must be based upon its decoration of swags as related to the

¹⁹⁹ *AA³* v, 313, 343-344=1908 *Report*, 9, 39-40: *NCH* x does not mention the fragment.

²⁰⁰ There can be little doubt that these are fingers. They are not in the correct position for a plume, and they can be seen to unite at the knuckles and to exhibit the curvature of fingers in the act of gripping.

attitude of the horse. A border of swags cannot be vertical : it must run either horizontally or at a low slope. But, if the swags are here set horizontally, the horse's ears lie back, as if in terror, and its oval eye stands on end, as cannot have been intended. The swags must thus have been set sloping, at an angle related to the correct position for the horse's ears and eye. On this point comparative local material is available. On the tombstone²⁰¹ of Flavinus, at Hexham, the horse's eye droops forward, as also on both the panel (pl. VII, 1) and frieze (pl. VII, 3) of the *Dioscuri*. But the eye of the winged horse on the frieze (pl. VII, 3) droops slightly backward, completing the impression of soaring flight. This backward droop best suits the winged horse here : for even a horizontal position for the eye sets the edge of the panel at an angle too steep for swags. The backward droop, setting the swags at an angle of thirty degrees,²⁰² enables the fragment to be explained as part of a pediment, to which a winged horse and swag are equally well suited.

The second piece (pl. VIII, 2) also exhibits an original edge, bordered by two-thirds of a swag, of the same pattern as those already described, attached to a fine *bucranium* of similar style but better proportions than the examples noted above. Both elements are, however, over twice as large as those on the first piece, where, nevertheless, the swags are seen to be growing larger towards the base of the composition. It is thus likely that all the swags belong to the same series, increasing in size towards the base of the pediment. If so, the winged horse will have occupied a position towards the top of the pediment. Finally, it will be noted that the whole composition must have been of considerable size. The scale of the horse's head implies a figure nearly half as large again²⁰³ as on the *Dioscurus* panel (p. 137), and a winged horse is most un-

²⁰¹ For good photographic illustrations, see *JRS* ii, 127, fig. 8 and *XXVII Bericht R.G. Komm.*, 1937, p. 16, Taf. I, no. 2.

²⁰² cf. the angle of the pediment of the Wolf and Twins, note 131 above.

²⁰³ The proportion is 5 to 7.

likely to have been a principal figure in a pediment. Much more probably this Pegasus took a minor place in the representation of a firmament dominated by major deities. The Pegasus, too, inevitably suggests a firmament of the Dolichene type, a conclusion very strongly supported by the marked resemblance in technique between these fragments and the panels of *Sol* and *Dioscurus*, whose connexion with Dolichenus is not in doubt. If the further connexion now suggested is sound, the fragments will have belonged to the pediment of a Dolichene temple. The date of the fragments is not stratigraphically established: stylistically, they belong to the third-century series.

(d) *A statue of Dolichenus*. Amid so notable a collection of Dolichene cult-imagery it is natural to seek some relic of the god himself. No recognizable portion of his figure can be identified amid the few surviving fragments of the kind, for neither armour nor a tunic is peculiar to Dolichenus. The distinctive feature of his statues was their bull pedestal,²⁰⁴ denoting dominion of creation. This bull was not the moribund sacrificial bull of Mithras, from whose blood creation drew new life: it was the mighty leader of the herd, glorious in virile pride. There is thus no room for confusion between Mithraic and Dolichene bovine types; nor is there any doubt as to which type a fragment now to be studied belongs. This comprises (pl. VIII, 3) the right hindquarters and middle of a standing bull, now 20 inches high, 24 inches long and 7 inches thick, the thickness representing about half the creature's bulk. Damage has been severe. The head, neck, forequarters, much of the back, also the back leg and virile member have been smashed away, and the figure has been cleft from top to bottom by a shattering series of blows. In particular an oblique break, extending from the top of the hindquarters

²⁰⁴ See Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, ii, 38. For Mithras, contrast Porphyrius *de antro nympharum* 24, ὁ ταύρος δημιουργὸς ὧν ὁ καὶ γενέσθω δεσπότης; see Cumont *Textes et monuments*, ii, 41.

to the middle of the belly, suggests that the top of the back had been broken off together with the statue carried upon it. Later still, the fragment has been used as part of a well-worn threshold, fitted with a six-inch check and lateral socket for door-sill and frame. There is no record whence the stone came. It was rescued by the writer from the hedge close to the Museum.

Despite so much damage the stone still conveys its original meaning. There is no doubt that it belonged to a standing bull, so boldly and skilfully modelled as still to convey (pl. VIII, 3) a powerful impression of latent strength and virility. It thus belongs definitely to the Dolichene type, and is large enough to have carried a sizeable statue of about two-thirds scale, comparable²⁰⁵ with those of Stuttgart, Vienna and Rome. The date of the fragment is not established, but it cannot be later than the early fourth century, which may well have been the period of its secondary use.

The Corbridge effigies of Dolichenus and his cult are not, however, all executed in stone. The site has also yielded a small group²⁰⁶ of sombre figures in relief (pl. X G), locally produced, which were impressed upon the sides of large globular grey jars. The most famous example is an actual mould, nicknamed "Harry Lauder," which reproduces a warrior god, equipped with native helmet, shield, rustic club and eight-spoked wheel. Four other fragments in the same rugged style and identical fabric attest that the potter Alletio, whose signature occurs twice²⁰⁷ upon one of them, had a varied and ambitious repertory. We possess the feet of a spear-bearing god (pl. X G, 3) set upon a pedestal

²⁰⁵ Cook, *Zeus* i, 612, fig. 480 (Stuttgart), fig. 481 (Vienna); Colini, *Bull. Com.* lxiii (1936), pl. iii (Rome).

²⁰⁶ See *AA*³ v, 420=1908 *Report*, 116; *AA*³ vi, 224-225=1909 *Report*, 22-23, for the native helmet, see note 215; *AA*³ vii, 202=1910 *Report*, 60; *AA*³ viii, 182=1911 *Report*, 46; *AA*³ xi, 309-310=1913 *Report*, 33-34.

²⁰⁷ *AA*³ vii, 202=1910 *Report*, 60; cf. *EE* ix, 1353, where the reading is discussed: parallels support *ll* instead of *ss*, cf. *CIL* vi, 1056, *Alletius*, Holder, *Alt-keltischer Sprachschatz*, *Aletius*. *sl* is not possible, since the two letters are the same.

and clad in military boots; a second fragment carries yet another pair of feet, also wearing *caligae* and thus again belonging to a martial figure; while a third fragment exhibits a muscular leg (pl. x G, 2). Finally, a fourth deity is represented by the upper half of a bearded figure, wearing a tunic and conical Syrian hat, while his right arm brandishes a double axe, of which the outer blade, now broken away, has left its impression on the vessel (pl. x G, 1). No other attribute remains, but the eastern conical hat, bearded face and double axe held aloft in triumph, point unmistakably to Dolichenus as the deity represented. It would not be surprising to find Dolichenus in a group of martial gods, since power and invincibility are his best advertised qualities; while his appearance among a local potter's stock of divine personages indicates a popularity also equally consonant with his reputation. The date of the pottery within the Roman period is not closely determinable, but the fabric and the wide lattice-scoring on the side of the vessel fit the third century.

(e) *The altar of Apollinaris*. This stone was found²⁰⁸ in 1910, to south of site xi, forming a kerb to the street of A.D. 369. But the altar was set up by a centurion and must therefore be earlier than the fourth century when the office disappeared. It was described in detail by Haverfield and has been more recently discussed²⁰⁹ by Miss Jolliffe, with reference to Brigantia. But there are one or two details to add (pl. x H). The text is peculiar. The dedication, unlike those of some altars, has never changed: the dedicator's name and titles are cut on top of a deliberate erasure, whether this covers initial bungling or a deliberate re-dedication of the stone. The last letters of the text, which Haverfield read as *IVS DE* and expanded as *ius(sus) de(dicat)*, are to be read²¹⁰ as *IVSS DEI*, which is for *iuss(u)*

²⁰⁸ *AA^s* vii, 144, 176=1910 *Report*, 2, 34.

²⁰⁹ *Arch. Journ.* xcvi, 36 sqq.

²¹⁰ The correctness of this reading is kindly confirmed by Mr. R. P. Wright, who inspected the stone at the writer's request.

dei, a common phrase in dedications to Dolichenus. Secondly, it should be observed that the dedication, embracing not only Dolichenus but Caelestis Brigantia and Salus, is an example of the liberal attraction of other deities which was a feature of the Dolichene cult. The motive is obvious. In this eastern cult mediation between man and god was not vested in the Roman state officials but in a priesthood attached to the cult and dependent upon its successful appeal for a livelihood. It was thus necessary to attract worshippers, and to this end other gods were enthroned beside Dolichenus and his consort in an eclectic heavenly gathering where every devotee might find a familiar figure. In this case the centurion from Eboracum found, or was encouraged²¹¹ to find, in the *Dolichenum* of Corbridge an exalted local deity from his own operational area and a familiar Roman personification. The two associated deities, now to be described, thus offer a clue to the territorial policy followed by the priesthood of Dolichenus in the York command.

Brigantia was the tutelary *genius* of the Pennine dales and mountains of the Brigantes, and is here called Caelestis Brigantia, being thus conceived²¹² as a local aspect of Iuno Caelestis or dea Syria. While in one remote dedication²¹³ the *genius* appears as a male, and in another as a nymph,²¹⁴ the regularity of the equation with Caelestis is shown by the Birrens relief, where Brigantia, like Caelestis, is associated²¹⁵ with a sacred stone. But another aspect of the

²¹¹ It is evident, from the frequent occurrence of *iussus, ex imperio* and the like upon Dolichene inscriptions, that the normal procedure was to consult the god through his priests and to await their command as to action to be taken either before or after fulfilment of the desire.

²¹² cf. *CIL* vii, 759, for the local aspect at Carvoran.

²¹³ The Longwood altar, *EE* vii, 920; for the exact find-spot, see Richmond, *Huddersfield in Roman Times*, 100.

²¹⁴ *CIL* vii, 875 = *EE* ix, p. 604. Like the stone *EE* ix, p. 566 = *CIL* vii, 332, to Maponus, which was found "at Brampton in Gillesland," this stone is not certainly tied to Castlesteads, see note 283.

²¹⁵ See Miss Jolliffe's fine illustration, *Arch. Journ.* xcvi, 36, plate i. For the helmet, compare *AA*³ vi, 224, undoubtedly a native type. The wings and globe are probably an indication of the Victoria with whom

matter, as Miss Jolliffe has observed,²¹⁶ is that in this third-century interpretation of the goddess, the affinity between Iuno Caelestis, the African and Syrian tutelary goddess, and Brigantia was developed in loyal compliment to the Afro-Syrian dynasty of Severus and in particular to Iulia Domna. Caelestis, however, is also in her own home in a Dolichene cult-group: for Iuno Regina, the consort of Dolichenus, is fused and equated with Caelestis in the pantheistic poem²¹⁷ of Donatianus from Carvoran. Caelestis Brigantia thus forms an excellent example of a local deity already re-interpreted by Rome and now here assimilated to the imported eastern cult with the special object of attracting devotees. The orders of the god, as interpreted by his priest, were nicely calculated to attract men of the Sixth Legion, in whose sphere of operations the cult of Caelestis Brigantia had been developed.

Salus is the second and less important deity grouped with Dolichenus by Apollinaris and his priestly mentors. This order of reference makes it highly unlikely that the goddess intended was *Salus publica*. *Salus publica* does indeed twice occur²¹⁸ in the *Feriale Duranum* as a goddess receptive of official worship. But it is noteworthy that dedications to Salus by soldiers in Britain principally concern²¹⁹ the personal well-being of high officials. They are thus addressed to Salus as the goddess²²⁰ of individual well-being, who is equated with the Greek Hygieia and associated with Aesculapius, god of medicine and surgery. It is to this group that the dedication of Apollinaris belongs,

Brigantia is equated on the altars from Greetland (*CIL* vii, 200=*ILS* 4719) and Castleford (*EE* ix, 1120=*ILS* 4720): there is no need to seek more recondite parallels, for the intention of the imagery was to be obvious to all. The aniconic stone is to signify Caelestis.

²¹⁶ *op. cit.* 44, 53.

²¹⁷ *CIL* vii, 759; cf. von Domaszewski, *Abhandl. zur röm. Religion*, 148-150, "gefasst wird die Göttin" (*Virgo Caelestis*) "als Panthea mit den Eigenschaften der Magna Mater, Pax, Virtus, Ceres, dea Syria."

²¹⁸ *YCS* vii, 66, 150.

²¹⁹ cf. *CIL* vii, 100, 101, 164.

²²⁰ On this conception of *Salus*, see Livy, xl, 37, 2, and Cato, *de RR.* 141, 3.

and his desire for good fortune and good health was no doubt the ultimate personal reason behind the dedication.

Chance has thus preserved among the wreckage of third-century Corbridge a singularly rich group of Dolichene cult-imagery. The internal furnishings of a shrine are represented by the bull which formed the base of the god's own statue, by a notable frieze depicting him in glory and by an altar which helps us to understand the methods by which his priests attracted votaries. External decoration,²²¹ bolder and more garish, is to be classified as panels or metopes of the *Dioscuri*, *Sol* and *Luna* and as a pediment containing a winged horse but otherwise beyond conjecture. It is not now possible to identify his temple. Too little is as yet known²²² about the planning of *Dolichena*, except that they do not conform to the normal temple type, and include not only shrines but a banquet-room for a sacred feast. The scale of the decoration here studied, both internal and external, would well fit a small and elaborate shrine.²²³

(ii) PANTHEA-CYBELE OR MAGNA MATER. In 1913, the top of a fine altar to Panthea was found²²⁴ in a ventilation channel of the east granary (site vii). The text, published²²⁵ by Haverfield, is cut partly on the capital, in two letters of which the second is F and the first B, P or R, while the die contains the words *Deae Pantheae* in good lettering,

²²¹ The difference is exactly that between the high and bold relief adopted for the metopes and pediments of, for example, the Parthenon and the low relief of the Panathenaic frieze. The former pieces have far greater sculptural value, the latter are more like painting or tapestry.

²²² The question lacks evidence. Egger (*Jahreshefte des öst. Arch. Inst.* xvii, 1914, *Beiblatt*, 46-56) emphasizes the differences between *dolichena* or *mithraea* and classic temples. The type seems to have demanded a vestibule, a court, a cult-room and a *triclinium*: cf. Colini. *Bull. Com.* lxiii, 145-159. The type is essentially an eastern type, see Woolley, *Antiq. Journ.* vi, 368-374, pl. xlv, the Gig-Par-Ku at Ur.

²²³ Famous examples are the Kaaba at Mecca, or the Holy of holies in the temple of Jehovah, 1 Kings vi, both small shrines in large courts.

²²⁴ *AA*³ xi, 306=1913 *Report*, 30.

²²⁵ *ibid.*; cf. also *Suppl. Papers Brit. Acad.* ii, 27.

very elaborately ligatured. In addition, the well carved and highly unusual decoration of the altar deserves special note. Each side (pl. ix, 1, 3) exhibits the top of a deeply cut rectangular panel, containing a mourning youth, whose heavily inclined head, covered in a Phrygian cap, leans in one case upon hand and elbow. The costume and attitude of the figures recalls²²⁶ the Mithraic torch-bearers, *Cautes* and *Cautopates*; but neither holds an uplifted torch, the indispensable attribute²²⁷ of *Cautes*, and the association of a female deity with Mithraic ritual is wholly unacceptable. Nor is the group yet complete. In a round-headed niche on the back of the altar stands the youthful *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, with winged cap (pl. ix, 2).

A goddess invoked as *Panthea* might in other circumstances²²⁸ be *Fortuna*, but *Fortuna* has no connexion with mourning youths. Yet F on the capital may still stand for her name; indeed, it is easiest to restore the initial letters as BF, standing for *Bona Fortuna*, in preliminary invocation of good omen. Such invocations with this abbreviation occur upon inscriptions²²⁹ of the eastern Mediterranean, and the eastern connexion of this *Panthea* is attested by the mourning youths in Phrygian dress. An eastern *Panthea* was, moreover, worshipped in northern Britain no further afield than Carvoran, where *Virgo Caelestis*, in the famous poem²³⁰ of Donatianus, was fused with *Magna Mater*, *Pax*, *Virtus*, *Ceres* and *dea Syria*. But *Caelestis* has no more to do with mourning youths²³¹ than *Fortuna*. Mourning youth is a feature²³² of the Phrygian *Magna Mater*, from the first

²²⁶ cf. Evans and Gardner, quoted by Haverfield, *AA*³ xi, 307=1913 *Report*, 31.

²²⁷ For this see Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, i, 209-212.

²²⁸ For *Fortuna* as *Panthea*, see *CIL* vi, 30867, x, 1557, 5800: also Peter in Roscher, *Myth. Lexik.* i, 1534 sqq.

²²⁹ See *ILS* 467, 653, 1373, 1395, 9009; for the case see Mommsen, *CIL* iii, 383.

²³⁰ *CIL* vii, 759: see note 217 above.

²³¹ *Caelestis* was the daughter of *Astarte*, mythical foundress of Carthage, see note 253. Her worship is African and quite unconnected with *Attis*.

²³² Pausanias, vii, 17, 5, for the Lydian or Phrygian version of the myth.

associated with the shepherd boy *Attis*, whose death and resurrection, celebrated in the great spring festival²³³ of the *Hilaria*, were related to the yearly round of the seasons. By the late fourth century, however, another lover, *Mēnotyrannus*,²³⁴ the Phrygian moon-god, had been added to the cult and fused with *Attis*, whom he closely resembled²³⁵ in age and dress. Hermes also had come to take part in the mysteries, not as *Hermes Psychopompos*, conductor of souls in the underworld, but as *Hermes Hegemonios*,²³⁶ who safely led the soul through the purifications²³⁷ of the *taurobolium* and *criobolium*.

The Corbridge stone thus emerges as an exceptionally interesting artistic epitome of the *Magna Mater* cult, in a late stage of its development: not, indeed, quite so late as the fourth-century inscriptions, for on this stone, as in the *Proëmion*²³⁸ of the Orphic Hymns, *Attis* and *Men* still retain their individuality. A third-century date would suit well both this stage of development and the heavily ligatured lettering, and the fragment itself, forming part of the filling below the fourth-century floor²³⁹ of the granary, can hardly be of other date. The cult was not an official army cult: its mysteries, like those of Mithras, appealed to the individual as distinct from the State. Thus, it does not

²³³ April 4-10 inclusive, see YCS vii, 272-273: what they celebrated was the re-birth of the spirit, see Sallustius, *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου*, 4.

²³⁴ Dated inscriptions mentioning Menotyrannus are *CIL* vi, 499, of A.D. 374; 500, of A.D. 377, and 501, of A.D. 383: for other inscriptions, undated, cf. *CIL* vi, 508, 511; *IGSI*, 913.

²³⁵ For Mēn, see P. Perdrizet, *Bull. corr. hellén.*, 1896, localization, p. 74; costume, on coins, p. 102, on monuments, p. 104; cf. Ramsay, *Cities of Asia Minor*, i, 169.

²³⁶ Hermes is mentioned in *CIL* vi, 499: his title *Hegemonios* emerges in *CIA* ii, 741, 197.

²³⁷ For accounts of these mysteries, see the full bibliography and excellent summary by Schwenn in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. Kybele; also Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 103-104, 126-127, 162-164. The two most important ancient passages are Sallustius, *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου*, 4, and Themistius, apud Stob. *Florilegium*, iv, 107 (Meinecke).

²³⁸ Orph. Hymn. *Proëm.* v, 40. *Μητέρα τ' ἀθανάτων Ἄττιν καὶ Μῆνα κικλήσκω*. Both gods appear on a silver vessel from Hildesheim, see Wieseler, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, 17, note 1.

²³⁹ cf. Haverfield, *AA*³ v, 388=1908 *Report*, 94, on the dating of this floor.

appear²⁴⁰ in the *Feriale Duranum*. But on the German frontier²⁴¹ dedications are not infrequent and temples occur in the *canabae* of Saalburg and Zugmantel. In Britain,²⁴² a dedication appears at Carrawburgh and there is also the indirect reference at Carvoran, mentioned above: while in civil areas a utensil of the cult occurs in London and a statue of *Attis* at Bevis Marks, together with a possible temple at Verulamium.

It is not certain that other traces of the *Magna Mater* can be recognized at Corbridge. But since her most distinctive rite was the *criobolium*, or purification²⁴³ with ram's blood, it is possible that the upper half of an exceptionally fine ram's-head corbel of stone belonged to her shrine. This (pl. ix, 5) is one of the most vigorous pieces of carving at Corbridge and is difficult to place among ordinary conventional ornament.

(iii) HERCULES OF TYRE and ASTARTE. The eastern cult of Dolichenus was thoroughly engrafted upon the Roman stock by association with *Iuppiter optimus maximus*, while that of Cybele was widely adopted in the western provinces, in virtue of mystic rites. But there is at Corbridge a third eastern cult of which the associations are not Roman and not, as we have them, even expressed in Latin. This is represented by two altars, inscribed in Greek²⁴⁴ and dedi-

²⁴⁰ YCS vii, 32-33.

²⁴¹ For the distribution of the cult in the German provinces and Belgica, see Lehner, *Bonner Jahrb.* cxxix, 74-75. The Saalburg temple is peripteral and of classic type, *ORL* II, i, no. 11, Taf. vii.

²⁴² Carrawburgh, *CIL* vii, 618; the expansion of D.M.D. in the first line is presumably *d(eae) M(atri) d(eum)*, not *d(eae) M(atri) [I]d(eae)*, as Huebner suggested. Carvoran, *CIL* vii, 759. For the utensil, apparently a castration-clamp, see Francis, *Proc. Roy. Soc. Medicine*, xix (1926, *History of Medicine*), 95-110. Bevis Marks' statue, Roach-Smith, *Cat. Museum of London Antiq.* 1854, p. 1, no. 1, pl. 1.

²⁴³ This is an interesting relic of the origin of the cult among the shepherd folk of Phrygia, just as *Attis* is the shepherd-boy.

²⁴⁴ There is no evidence that in Britain Greek letters had been employed for native inscriptions, as in the Gallic inscriptions of Gaul. Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain* (ed. 1922), 29; for other Greek inscriptions in the military area, cf. *CIL* vi, 431, Lanchester; p. 48, Chester; p. 62, York; p. 66, Aldborough; p. 85, Maryport; *PSAL*³ xviii, 9, Oxfordshire.

cated respectively to *Herakles Tyrios* and *Astarte*. The altar to Herakles²⁴⁵ was observed for the first time in Corbridge churchyard in 1702, and is now in the British Museum, while that to Astarte²⁴⁶ was found in the vicar's glebe about twenty years later, and is now at Tullie House



FIG. 9. CORBRIDGE: ALTARS INSCRIBED IN GREEK VERSE TO THE TYRIAN HERCULES (1) AND TO ASTARTE (2). NOW AT BRITISH MUSEUM (1) AND TULLIE HOUSE, CARLISLE (2). SCALE $\frac{1}{8}$.

Museum, Carlisle. There is thus no stratigraphic evidence for the date of the altars.

Although not exactly matching²⁴⁷ in dimensions, the two stones are indubitably a pair (fig. 9). Greek inscrip-

²⁴⁵ *CIL* vii, p. 97 = *CIG* 6806 = *NCH* x, 497, no. 2.

²⁴⁶ *CIL* loc. cit. = *CIG* 6807 = *NCH* x, 496-497, no. 1.

²⁴⁷ The London altar, of Hercules, is 40 inches high, 21½ inches wide and 16 inches deep overall; the die is 17 inches square and there are four lines of 2-inch letters; the capital is missing. The Carlisle altar, of Astarte, is 49 inches high, 23 inches wide and 18 inches deep overall; the die is 19½ inches high and 19 inches wide, and there are five lines of letters from 1½ to 2½ inches high; the capital is 4½ inches high.

tions are in themselves very rare in Britain, and these two have all essential details in common. Both texts are composed in rude hexameter²⁴⁸ verse. Again, the letters in each include three highly distinctive²⁴⁹ types, namely, an alpha with cross-bar springing from the foot of the initial up-stroke, over which the downstroke extends at the top; an omega with second curve springing from a straight back-handed central stroke; a lunate epsilon with central cross-bar extending as far as the others. Each stone also exhibits identical forms of eta, chi, rho, and upsilon, and space is saved on each by the use of small letters. The similarity of the stones also extends beyond the text to the mouldings²⁵⁰ on the capital, which are identical and, it should be added, more classical in type than those on most local altars. The Tullie House stone retains its *focus* carved in the form of a two-handled metal dish.²⁵¹ But on the British Museum altar the *focus* and bolsters have been removed and a box-like trough has been roughly carved in their stead. It was fitted with a lid and was probably²⁵² for holy water or alms in the medieval church.

The pairing of the inscriptions, thus proved, is consonant with what is known of the cult. According to Cicero, the Tyrians worshipped²⁵³ a special type of Hercules, son of Zeus and Asteria, Leto's sister, and father of the tutelary goddess of Carthage. This tradition represents an attempt to equate Delian and Tyrian mythology, comparable with the comments by Eudoxus of Cnidus²⁵⁴ upon

²⁴⁸ The last foot of the verse to Astarte contains a false quantity.

²⁴⁹ For the forms, see fig. 9, opposite.

²⁵⁰ The mouldings on the base differ in that the altar to Astarte has a *cyma* as the main element and that to Hercules a bold *torus*.

²⁵¹ cf. the Aesica stone, *EE* ix, 1191.

²⁵² The rough bowl-like shape suits a stoup better than an offertory-box. The dowel-hole for fixing the lid is at the sinister rearward corner of the top. Lids to prevent holy water being used for magical purposes were prescribed by Archbishop Edmund, 1234-44, see Lyndewode, *Provinciale* (1679), 241, 247.

²⁵³ Cic. *de nat. deor.* iii, 20 (42), *quartus (Hercules) Iovis est et Asteriae, Latonae sororis, qui Tyri maxime colitur, cuius Karthaginem filiam ferunt.*

²⁵⁴ Quoted by Cicero, *loc. cit.*

sacrifices of quails to the same Hercules. In fact, the cult was native to Tyre, where it was held²⁵⁵ to be as old as the city itself. Palestinian writers indicate²⁵⁶ that Hercules and Astarte were worshipped in a joint sanctuary (τέμενος) containing separate shrines (ιερά) rebuilt by King Hiram of Biblical fame: and that the so-called Zeus was the Phoenician "Adodos, king of the gods," whose consort Asteria was Astarte, called by Herodotus²⁵⁷ Aphrodite Urania, by Cicero²⁵⁸ the Syrian and Cypriote Venus and by the Jews²⁵⁹ "the abomination of the Sidonians." Hercules is the Tyrian Melkarth. Thus, however Hellenized at Corbridge the outward expression of worship,²⁶⁰ we are in fact dealing with an exotic Syrian cult, originating from Tyre and concerned with a divine Triad. At Corbridge this cult was served by a priestess who describes herself as "chief-priestess." She was thus presumably not without companions, and the man²⁶¹ Pulcher, who dedicated the altar to Astarte, may well have been a fellow-ministrant.

Diodora and her companions were no doubt established at Corbridge at the request of worshippers or in hope of attracting them. In either event the implication is that there were persons to whom this exotic cult, without

²⁵⁵ Herodotus, ii, 43-44, ἐπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἱερὸν Ἑρακλέος ἁγίου καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον . . . ἔφασαν γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οικιζομένη καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἰδρυθῆναι.

²⁵⁶ Josephus, *contra Ap.* i, 18, of Hiram, son of Abibalus, οὗτος καθελὼν τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἱερά καινοῦς ὑποδόμησε τό τε τοῦ Ἑρακλέους καὶ τῆς Ἀστάρτης τέμενος ἀνιέρυσσε καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἑρακλέους πρῶτον ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μὴνί εἰτα τὸ τῆς Ἀστάρτης. We may compare what his ally Solomon was doing at Jerusalem. For Adōdos see Eusebius, *praep. evang.* i, 10, 31=21, quoting Philo of Byblos, *Ζεὺς Δημηροῦς (δ) καὶ Ἀδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν*. For the type of this Herakles Melquart see G. F. Hill, *JHS* xxxi, 61, and pl. iv, 24.

²⁵⁷ Herodotus, v, 6, 4.

²⁵⁸ Cicero, *de nat. deor.* iii, 23 (59), *quarta (Venus) Syria Cyproque concepta, quae Astarte vocatur, quam Adonidi pronupsisse proditum est.*

²⁵⁹ 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

²⁶⁰ Roscher, *Myth. Lexikon*, denies that the worship was attended by the oriental custom of ritual prostitution. It is hardly supported by *Anthologia Palatina*, vii, 222, 223. Sculpture certainly assignable to this cult is lacking. But the palm pilaster (*AA*² v, 350, fig. 14, no. 22) and a striking head, not unlike Hercules, associated with a palm, now in the nave of Hexham priory, may be mentioned as kindred fragments.

²⁶¹ It should be noted that this man is a *peregrinus*, without the *tria nomina* of the Roman citizen: cf. *CIL* xiii, 11812.

parallel elsewhere in Britain, would appeal. Further, the establishment of a priestess is to be considered as the act not of an individual, but of a body of worshippers, who at Corbridge can hardly be other than soldiers. Finally, whether the Orontes flowed into Tiber or Tyne, it was primarily Easterners who rejoiced in its waters. Excellent neighbouring examples²⁶² of this localization of foreign cults are provided by the restriction of the worship of *dea Syria* and *Hammia* to *cohors I Hamiorum* at Carvoran, or *Mars Thingsus* and the *Alaisiagae* to the *Tungri* at Housesteads. At Corbridge, one individual at least is known to whom Diodora's cult might have appealed, namely, the Palmyrene who is described on his tombstone as *Palmorenus vexil(l)a(rius)*. This inscription²⁶³ is normally interpreted to mean that he was a *vexillarius*, or flag-bearer, in a military mounted unit of his own *natio*. The presence at Corbridge of this or a similar unit, no doubt equipped²⁶⁴ as archers, would be understandable in itself, as supplying convoy guards and police to supplement the specialist legionary detachments (see p. 134); and it would provide an entirely satisfactory reason for the presence of Diodora's exotic cult. The attachment of such priests to military units is well known, and is, indeed, specifically attested²⁶⁵ for Palmyrenes.

(iv) WATER-GODS, OR NYMPHS. The worship of Neptune, god no less of rivers and springs than of the sea, is prescribed²⁶⁶ for Roman troops in the *Feriale Duranum*, the

²⁶² *CIL* vii, 758 (*Dea Syria*), 750 (*Dea Hammia*); *EE* vii, 1040, 1041 (*Mars Thingsus* and the *Alaisiagae*); cf. *CIL* vii, 1072, 1073, Ricagambada and Viradecthis at Birrens, or *EE* ix, 1135, Garmangabis at Lanchester.

²⁶³ For the rank see von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung des röm. Heeres*, 60, quoting *CIL* xiii, 7753 and 7754, *vexillarii* of a mounted *numerus exploratorum* from Niederbieber. Birley's suggestion, *AA*⁴ xii, 220, that *vexillarius* meant a "maker of flags" is weakened in the face of these army usages.

²⁶⁴ cf. Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, pp. 83-84.

²⁶⁵ *CIL* iii, 7728, *sacerdos creatus a Pal[myr]enis*, of a priest of Mithras; for Themes, the *sacerdos* or *lepeis* of *coh. XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura, see Hoey, *Trans. American Philological Assoc.* lxx (1939), 473-474.

²⁶⁶ *YCS* vii, 146: for his relation to springs and rivers as well as the sea cf. Toutain, *Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, i, 372-380, and von Domaszewski, *Abhandl. sur röm. Religion*, 20-21.

feast-day being the 23rd of July. At Corbridge, however, this official cult has not appeared. Neptune occurs only upon a large antefix, found²⁶⁷ in 1936 while removing fourth-century rubbish from the north-west quarter of site xi and therefore probably of third-century date. This panel, 18 inches overall in height and width, with triangular top, is dominated by a winged Victory, holding a palm and ansate tablet and poised upon a globe. In the lower corners recline Neptune, facing right, and Mars, facing left. Neptune is draped below the waist and holds an anchor in his right hand. Mars is wearing a cuirass with gorgoneion, kilt, greaves and crested helmet. He appears²⁶⁸ to hold a sword-sheath, complete with metal fittings, including two rings for suspension, in his right hand. The gods are thus represented as resting after activities on land and sea which have been crowned by a Victory related to both, as always²⁶⁹ in north-British campaigns. That the antefix decorated a shrine, as has been suggested, is doubtless true, though its dedication is not clear. It is, however, evident that Neptune is not known to be associated at Corbridge with nymphs or springs. This inland aspect of his divinity appears on altars²⁷⁰ from Castlesteads, Castlecary and Birrens and on reliefs from Housesteads, now in the Blackgate, or from Chesters, now in the Museum on that site. Springs are, however, undoubtedly represented by another Corbridge piece, not hitherto described.

The new piece, of which the find-spot is unknown, has been a capital, intended for a column eight inches in diameter. It was later cut down to serve as a gully, an

²⁶⁷ The find-spot, not mentioned in publishing the object (*AA*⁴ xv, 289-290, pl. xii, 3), emerges from the official log kept on the site, under the date 31 viii, 1936.

²⁶⁸ Shallow carving in the background, as for painting.

²⁶⁹ See the writer's remarks, *AA*⁴ xi, 98-101, in relation to the port of South Shields.

²⁷⁰ Castlesteads, *CIL* vii, 893; improved reading by Collingwood. *CW*² xxii, 209, no. 6; Castlecary, *CIL* vii, 1096; Birrens, *PSAS* lxxii, 330; Housesteads, *Lap. Sept.* 170 and 234 combined; Chesters, *Lap. Sept.* 148.

operation which entirely removed the carving upon one face, and it served still later as a paving-stone, when a second face was almost completely abraded by treading. This takes²⁷¹ the piece back at least as far as the third century. Two faces only (pl. x, 1, 2) thus now retain their highly interesting repetitive scenes, for which the subject chosen is a pleasant glade. The details are gathered by combining both versions. The steep right bank is crowned by an old deciduous tree, shading a powerful stream which gushes in spiral waves from a pitcher, in the classical style of representation.²⁷² Above the stream the tutelary nymph floats upon waves. Her young face is framed in braided hair, hanging in ringlets over the back, and she wears a long, high-waisted, diaphanous tunic, with fronds of water-plants in her right hand. As a final touch, to emphasize the aquatic quality of the scene, the artist has added a water-goat or capricorn, playfully pawing the nymph's right shoulder. Only the legs of the creature remain; its tail has been abraded or removed. The third scene, on the adjacent side, has been almost totally effaced; but the spouting spring and the waves below the nymph can be discerned, enough to show that the scene repeated those described.

The subject of the decoration is thus classical indeed, an idyll in miniature conceived in the spirit of the Faunus relief (p. 174); but its application is not Roman. Figured capitals are essentially foreign to classical art, and figures, if they occur at all, are subordinated to conventional ornament: for example, the Four Seasons, introduced upon the remarkable capital at Cirencester,²⁷³ are set amid conventional acanthus-leaves. Celtic art, on the other hand, uses space as a field for surface decoration rather than to express

²⁷¹ That is to say, it was used for paving in the period A.D. 369-388, for a gully in the period A.D. 297-367 and for its original purpose not later than the period A.D. 197-296.

²⁷² cf. the Palazzo Rondanini relief, Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pl. lxxxi.

²⁷³ *Archaeologia*, lxix, pls. ix, x.

structural form. It must thus be realized that, however Roman the scene, its application is Celtic: as in the works²⁷⁴ of Gildas or the poems²⁷⁵ called the *Hisperica famina*, nominally Roman forms are expressed by Celtic brain with almost medieval²⁷⁶ effect.

A third piece (pl. x, 3) associated with water-worship is more conventional. It is a fragmentary torso of a free-standing female statue, of about one-third scale, obviously intended to be seen from the front. The figure wears a tunic covering the left shoulder and leaving the right breast bare. Her graceful arms, the left broken, have been occupied in holding a shell, of which only the bases of the conchoidal flutings remain. The shell is an attribute accorded²⁷⁷ only to water-nymphs, usually in association with baths or fountains. The date of the piece is unknown: but the fragment was found²⁷⁸ at the north end of the covered third-century drain which borders the extramural road in the west enclave. It cannot have reached that position until after the destruction of A.D. 297.

(v) APOLLO-MAPONUS. Two inscriptions (fig. 10) belonging to this Romano-British cult occur at Hexham, where they were used as building stones in the Saxon cathedral, no doubt being brought thither from Corbridge. The first,²⁷⁹ now displayed in the south transept of the church, is on an altar erected by Quintus Terentius Firmus, *praefectus castrorum* of the Sixth Legion, whose *praenomen* is defaced.

²⁷⁴ This aspect of Gildas's style is noted by Raby, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 166-167.

²⁷⁵ For the *Hisperica famina* (ed. F. J. H. Jenkinson, Cambridge, 1908), see Raby, *op. cit.* 167-169.

²⁷⁶ The likenesses are not necessarily due to connexion, but because both styles, Celtic and medieval, result from a common source of inspiration.

²⁷⁷ For the type, see Roscher, *Myth. Lexikon* III, i, 563-565; also Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, ii, 405. The shell is here seriously mutilated, but the remnants of flutings within the grip of each hand are unmistakable.

²⁷⁸ As recorded in the official log-book.

²⁷⁹ *Lap. Sept.* 657 = *CIL* vii, 1345 = *ILS* 4639: the defaced *praenomen* was probably *Q(uintus)*, cf. Haverfield, *NCH* v, 504, no. 37.

The second, on an altar or statue-base²⁸⁰ still serving as an arcuate lintel in the Saxon crypt, is a dedication by Publius Aelius, a centurion of the Sixth Legion, whose *cognomen*



FIG. 10. CORBRIDGE: DEDICATIONS TO MAPONUS, EQUATED TO APOLLO, BY A PRAEFECTUS CASTRORUM (1) AND A CENTURION (2) OF THE SIXTH LEGION; BOTH FOUND IN HEXHAM PRIORY, AND STILL THERE. SCALE $\frac{1}{16}$.

²⁸⁰ *Lap. Sept.* 658 = *CIL* vii, 483 = *EE* ix, p. 579. The capital and base of the stone have been trimmed away by the Saxon masons, leaving only string-moulds and a narrow border of chip carving dividing them from the die. But the thickness of the stone and character of the mouldings indicate its original function as an altar or statue-base, the former more probable. The new reading is due to Mr. R. P. Wright, who points out that the *nomen* might be *Aem(ilius)*.

is not preserved. Both inscriptions are cut in excellent lettering, suggestive of the second century rather than the third, and this dating is confirmed for the first stone by the occurrence of the title *praefectus castrorum*, which is not found²⁸¹ in the third century. Finally, a third altar (fig. 11), which later served as a base for the thirteenth-century market-cross of Corbridge, is dedicated by a tribune whose unit is not named. This stone²⁸² is now at the Blackgate, in Heron's Pit.

It is thus established that in the second century a cult of Apollo-Maponus existed at Corbridge, and was patronized by high Army officers. The British aspect of the cult is little known. Other dedications,²⁸³ from Ribchester and Brampton, in company with the Ravenna List's *locus Maponi*,²⁸⁴ indicate that the worship had a north-British distribution. It is further well known²⁸⁵ that the name *Maponus* is connected with Old Welsh *Maponos*, meaning "Youth"; while in the Mabinogion, as Rhys²⁸⁶ observed, *Mabon* appears as the son of *Modron* or *Matrona*, a mother-goddess, and as a mighty hunter subjected to one of the three grievous captivities of British mythology. On the Roman stones, however, the artistic expression of the cult

²⁸¹ All have accepted as sound the axiom propounded by Willmans *EE* i, 89, "quare, cum nec ante Augustum nec post Severum praefecti castrorum reperiantur ulli, nec ante alterum imperatorem nec post alterum eos in exercitu extitisse concludendum est."

²⁸² *CIL* vii, 471 = *Lap. Sept.* 639: first read by Collingwood, *JRS* xv, 248, *AA*⁴ ii, 55 = *Blackgate Catalogue*, 1926, no. 5: now in Heron's Pit.

²⁸³ *CIL* vii, 218: Heichelheim's observation in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. *Maponus*, that *Mapono* is not to be read on the stone, was based upon inaccurate and second-hand information. The reading is supported both by R. G. Collingwood and A. B. Cook. For the Brampton altar *CIL* vii, 332 = *ILS* 4640, see Haverfield, *EE* ix, p. 566 quoting Bodleian *MS Ashmole* 1816, f. 466d: the stone may well have come from the non-military site at Old Church, see *CW*³ xxxvi, 180-183.

²⁸⁴ *NCH* xv, 97; *Rav. Cosm.* 436, 20.

²⁸⁵ Holder, *Alteltischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. *Maponus*; also Van Hamel, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xx = *Aspects of Celtic Mythology*, Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture, p. 37.

²⁸⁶ Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by Celtic heathendom, 1888, 21-22, 28-29: the figure of Mabon son of Modron appears in the Mabinogion *Tale of Kulhwch and Olwen*.

is in classic idiom and neither a captive god nor Apollo the hunter appears. The emphasis is upon Apollo the harpist,²⁸⁷ an interpretation probably due to a bardic tradition



FIG. II. CORBRIDGE: ALTAR TO APOLLO MAPONUS. THE DEXTER SIDE BEARS THE FIGURE OF APOLLO CITHAROEDUS, THE SINISTER ARTEMIS THE HUNTRESS. NOW AT THE BLACKGATE (HERON'S PIT), NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE. SCALE $\frac{1}{12}$.

²⁸⁷ For the connexion of music and healing, see *Acallamh na Senorach* ll. 6093-6103: cf. David and Saul, 1 Samuel xvi. 23. For the Celtic Apollo as a healer, see Caes *B.G.* vi, 17. *Apollinem morbos depellere*.

of the god's power to heal by musical enchantment. But the Corbridge stone also introduces hunting, in the person of Artemis, Apollo's huntress-sister. The back of the Ribchester stone, on the other hand, exhibits a pair²⁸⁸ of goddesses, not now conspicuously distinguished by attributes, who might stand, as in many groupings of Apollo, for Leto and Artemis, the former to be equated with Modron: but a solid clue to the British interpretation fails us.

It is noteworthy, however, that among the non-official cults at Corbridge this is apparently the only British cult to have attracted prominent attention. The Mother-goddesses, whose popularity²⁸⁹ among auxiliary troops was well established, occur only upon two most insignificant reliefs; while Arecurius,²⁹⁰ otherwise unknown, wins the devotion of a *peregrinus*, one Apollinaris, son of Cassius. Maponus is evidently a god whose cult won the favour of high officials and was established by them. Other native deities hardly enter the Roman circle of legionary cults, on which the Corbridge stones form so interesting a commentary.

(vi) SOL INVICTUS. The worship of *Sol invictus* is attested at Corbridge by a notable inscribed tablet (pl. x B, 1), found²⁹¹ in 1911 in the roadway of A.D. 369 in front of site xi. The text, in military style, tersely records the dedication of a building to *Sol invictus* by a detachment (*vexillatio*) of the Sixth Legion under the governor Calpurnius Agricola, and is thus dated²⁹² to about A.D. 162. The decoration of the

²⁸⁸ cf. Huebner (*CIL* vii, 218), *feminae duae stantes*: Thompson Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, 131. The figures are much worn, and it is now difficult to determine their significance.

²⁸⁹ Corbridge examples are *AA*³ vii, 180=1910 *Report*, 38, and another unpublished. For the cult in general, see Haverfield, *AA*³ xv, 314-339: it emerges from his list that British worshippers were primarily auxiliaries: the cult is not Roman and therefore not popular with legionaries.

²⁹⁰ *AA*⁴ xv, 287-288, pl. xii, 1.

²⁹¹ *AA*³ viii, 186, fig. 10=1911 *Report*, 50. A local legend regarding a great man may here be recorded. It is still related in Corbridge that Haverfield, on unearthing the stone, "danced a horn-pipe to the stone in the morning, and prayed to it all afternoon."

²⁹² For the date, see *AA*⁴ xv, 286.

stone is also military²⁹³ in feeling, the panel being flanked by *peltae* once supported by flying Victories, whose hands and forearm still remain in each case. The stone is 5½ feet long and the Victories must together have taken about the same space on their flanking slabs (see pl. x B, 1). A shrine equipped with a dedication-tablet eleven feet long cannot itself have been insignificant, but nothing further is known of its size or site.

The cult²⁹⁴ of *Sol invictus* is also little known, for it was later assimilated to that of Mithras. But its earlier known manifestations in the West, beginning with the salutation of the rising sun by the Syrian legions²⁹⁵ at Bedriacum in A.D. 69 and Vespasian's dedication²⁹⁶ to *Sol* of Nero's *Colossus*, show no trace of the Mithraic connexion. *Sol divinus*, who appears upon a slave's inscription²⁹⁷ of A.D. 86, is matched on a similar stone by *dea Syria*, and is probably this consort's lord, Hadad of Hierapolis, the god of Baalbek. He was adopted²⁹⁸ among the gods of the *equites singulares* by A.D. 128 and appears²⁹⁹ as *Sol invictus* thirty years later in the same environment. His way from Rome probably lay through the headquarters' staffs of the legions, and it is noteworthy that this British stone is the earliest dated piece from the western provinces.

Having been erected about A.D. 162, the stone must be

²⁹³ The *pelta* as a substitute for the *ansa* is typical of the military areas: but its presence upon such monuments as the dedication-tablet of a theatre-stage at Petuaria, of a temple to Serapis and the sarcophagus of Iulia Fortunata at York, and of the arch of Dativius Victor at Mainz illustrates its wide use in other than military connotations.

²⁹⁴ For the distinction between *Sol invictus* and Mithras see Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i, 47-49. For the cult, see Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, lx (1905), 470 sqq.; also Marbach, Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. *Sol*.

²⁹⁵ Tac. *Hist.* iii, 24.

²⁹⁶ Pliny, *NH* xxxiv, 45, *qui dicatus Soli venerationi est damnatus sceleribus illius principis*: cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 18, also Dio Cass. lxvi, 15, and Mattingly, *BMC* ii, p. xlii, pl. 44, 7.

²⁹⁷ *CIL* vi, 398; and 399 for *dea Syria*.

²⁹⁸ *CIL* vi, 31139.

²⁹⁹ *CIL* vi, 715; *CIL* iii, 1111, from Apulum, which records the restoration of a temple to *Sol Invictus* by a legate of A.D. 183-185, implies another early example of the cult by Leg. XIII Gemina.

assumed³⁰⁰ to have shared in the general ruin which overwhelmed the site in A.D. 197. But, before the inscription was overthrown or put to other use, the words *solī invictō* were erased by a series of bold left-handed³⁰¹ punch-strokes. The erasure recalls those which blotted out the detested connexion claimed by Elagabalus with *sol invictus*, and has thus been connected³⁰² with his *damnatio* in A.D. 218. But, as Haverfield observed,³⁰³ an even better date might be provided by the death of Commodus: and his suggestion must be adopted if the stone was converted to other use after A.D. 197. The case for an erasure in A.D. 193 is therefore worth formulation.

In A.D. 192, the last year of his life, Commodus had assumed³⁰⁴ the title *invictus*, which he had already bestowed³⁰⁵ upon the month of October, when he had been elected to all the priestly colleges: and in A.D. 186 he had shared an important and curious dedication³⁰⁶ with the solar *Iuppiter Heliopolitanus*. Thus, in the same way as he intruded his personality upon Hercules, he may well have usurped³⁰⁷ some part of the worship of *Sol invictus*. These immoderate tendencies, combined with unbridled licentious conduct, earned him lasting dislike, which was expressed³⁰⁸ in a *damnatio memoriae*, formal obliteration of his name and memory. But in Britain the legionaries

³⁰⁰ The heavy burning, as noted on p. 216 below, and the drastic levelling and reconstruction indicated on fig. 12, attest the extent of the damage: and the ferocity of the Maeatian destruction has been noted elsewhere as remarkable, cf. Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English settlements* (1936), 155-156. In these circumstances it is unthinkable that the inscription can have escaped.

³⁰¹ The left-handed strokes deserve comment.

³⁰² *AA*³ viii, 187 = 1911 *Report*, 51.

³⁰³ *ibid.*

³⁰⁴ *CIL* xiv, 3449 = *ILS* 400: cf. Dio Cass. lxxii, 15.

³⁰⁵ *SHA*, *Vita Commodi*, xi, 8.

³⁰⁶ *CIL* vi, 420 = *ILS* 398.

³⁰⁷ cf. *JRS* xiii, 98-99, an inscription to *Invictus* by a *vexillatio Brittonum Volubili agentium* cited by Rostovtzev.

³⁰⁸ For the scene in the Senate, see Dio Cass., lxxiii, 2, 2-4: for a British example of such an erasure see Rostovtzev, *JRS* xiii, 100, on the destruction of the bust of Commodus-Hercules on Capheaton *patera*, figured *op. cit.* pl. v. 1.

had their own special reasons for strong detestation of Commodus. Their protests had led³⁰⁹ to the overthrow of his notorious favourite minister, Perennis, and other unsatisfied grievances had led³¹⁰ to numerous disturbances and at least one serious mutiny, savagely repressed. There were thus strong personal grudges to pay, and the legions may well have vented their feelings upon every record remotely referable to their detested commander-in-chief. In such circumstances, a dedication to *Sol invictus* would be an obvious target for insult and liable to obliteration.

(vii) FORTUNA. The goddess *Fortuna* is on the British frontier associated³¹¹ principally with bath-houses, where her genial personality was hopefully invoked as guardian of leisure hours. At Corbridge no dedication has survived, though *Bona Fortuna* seems to be propitiously mentioned in the altar of Cybele (p. 197). But a notable small relief exhibits *Fortuna* associated with a shrine as attendant upon another goddess. The piece,³¹² which is a triangular-topped relief, 16 inches high, represents the building itself, which is a gabled erection with open front supported by round columns upon attic bases with composite caps. The sinister column is well finished, but the sculptor has only roughed out its opposite member. Fortune stands on the right, and her attributes of *cornucopia*, rudder and globe recall³¹³ her abundant power to bring every man's ship into port, the wide world over. She holds the rudder in her right hand and the *cornucopia* in her left, and is wearing a full high-

³⁰⁹ Dio Cass. lxxii, 9.

³¹⁰ *SHA, Pertinax*, 3, 8-10.

³¹¹ cf. Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, 1938, 70; for examples specifically associated with baths see *op. cit.* 419=*CIL* vii, 1093, Castle-cary; *op. cit.* 432, Balmuildy; *CIL* vii, 954, Netherby; *CIL* vii, 982, Risingham; *EE* vii, 1015, Chesters; *EE* iii, 102, Carrawburgh; *EE* ix, 1191, Greatchesters; *CIL* vii, 273, Bowes; *CIL* vii, 199, Slack; *CIL* vii, 96, Caerleon.

³¹² *AA*³ vi, 231-232, fig. 7=1909 *Report*, 29-30. It may be wondered whether the relief, found close to the circular *podium*, was associated with it: see plan, *op. cit.* 44, site xvi.

³¹³ For the type and conception, see Roscher, *Myth. Lexikon* i, 2: 1505.

girt tunic with a cloak falling over the left shoulder and lightly draping the right. Her face is meant to follow the classic type, and her hair falls to the back of the neck in wavy ringlets.

The elderly goddess whom she accompanies is seated and sceptred, the attitude and attribute being a sign³¹⁴ of superior dignity. She wears her hair in a high curly mass, is fully draped, and holds in her lap a squarish object with rounded top, like a *pyxis* or casket.³¹⁵ At her right stands a table-like piece of furniture, on which perches a crested bird³¹⁶ with small beak and short tufted legs. The identity of the goddess is obscure. *Fortuna* is often coupled³¹⁷ with *Spes*, and sometimes with *Iuno* or *Minerva*: but the guise of this matronly goddess does not match any classical type, and she may be a native deity dressed in classic convention but not carrying normal attributes. It should be noted that the figures are certainly not Aesculapius and Hygieia, as Haverfield³¹⁸ once suggested; nor can his second identification,³¹⁹ as Fortune and Juno, be accepted without question in respect of Juno. Juno's birds³²⁰ are the peacock, goose or crow, and this bird is none of them. It is more like the cock³²¹ occasionally associated with Minerva, though unlike her owl. This said, the identity remains an enigma.

³¹⁴ cf. Brendel, *JRS* xxxi, 113, "to sit where others stand is a sign of dignity."

³¹⁵ The object is not clear. Haverfield suggested at first "a round or oval object" (*AA*³ vi, 232=1909 *Report*, 30); later (*NCH* x, 512, no. 18) the article is described as "a (?) casket." It looks to the writer like an elaborate casket or *pyxis*; but the Rev. J. E. Scott has suggested that it might be a pine-cone, and it is impossible either to rebut the suggestion or to prove it.

³¹⁶ The bird was identified by Haverfield as "possibly a cock" (*AA*³ vi, 232=1909 *Report*, 30); in *NCH* x, 512, no. 18, the bird and its pedestal are described as "an uncertain object."

³¹⁷ cf. *CIL* xiv, 2853; x, 3775; vi, 15594. The closest analogy is a goddess associated with Fortune and Mercury, possibly Rosmerta, on a Gloucester relief. *JRS* xxv, pl. 37, as Mr. R. P. Wright points out to me.

³¹⁸ *AA*³ vi, 269=1909 *Report*, 67.

³¹⁹ *NCH* x, 512, no. 18.

³²⁰ Roscher, *Myth. Lexikon*, ii, 1, 602.

³²¹ Pausanias, vi, 26, 2 Περὶ ἧται δὲ ἀλεκτρυόνων ἐπὶ τῷ κρανείῳ ὅτι οὐτοὶ προχειρότατα ἔχουσιν ἐς μάχας οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες.

PART IV. THE ANTONINE AND FLAVIAN LEVELS, AND THE
PLANNING OF THE ANTONINE SITE.

The remains of the third and fourth centuries at Corbridge can now be seen to form a remarkable group, unique in the Roman military world. Examination of the levels below them is thus governed by the need to retain the upper structures, and it becomes plain that if the earlier levels are ever to be exposed on a large scale the only space available without unwelcome sacrifice is the huge courtyard of site xi, where much could undoubtedly be learnt. Meanwhile, it has been necessary to approach the earlier levels by restricted sections and shafts cut where the upper remains have permitted. Within these limits, the method has been highly successful. A principal section, 120 feet long, relating the compounds to site xi, has established³²² the existence of two Antonine levels associated with stone buildings and of at least two Flavian levels associated with timber buildings, a fort-gateway and a massive turf rampart. Minor sections and shafts have provided³²³ both corroborative and supplementary results, which show that in the Antonine period the stone buildings overlay the Flavian turf rampart and continued southwards to the limit of present excavation, while in the Flavian period the terrace south of the rampart was covered with *canabae* comprising some timber buildings with plastered walls³²⁴ and many pits for rubbish, drainage and habitation. Thus, the outlines of the problem have slowly become clearer, even if many important points still await solution. The south limit of the Flavian fort is known; and it is established that, since there was a complete break between the Flavian and Antonine occupations, the Antonine buildings did not

³²² *AA*⁴ xv, 254, fig. 3.

³²³ *op. cit.* 261, fig. 5; 263, fig. 6.

³²⁴ *AA*⁴ xvii, III.

follow the Flavian plan but extended south of the Flavian rampart. Further information upon many of these points has been obtained in excavations now to be described.

(a) *Section V: Antonine buildings covering the Flavian camp* (fig. 12).

This section, 70 feet long, extended from the short axis of the east headquarters to the north wall of the compound. It revealed two successive levels of stone buildings covering first-century timber buildings and pits.

The upper level of stone buildings was represented by a well-made *opus signinum* floor, not the first³²⁵ of its kind noted at Corbridge, with a north wall of timber, once contained in a trench one foot wide, found loosely filled with fragments of fallen wall-plaster. The floor had been laid against horizontal timbers already in position and retained the impression of an irregular joint between them. Next followed a gravelled space, 14 feet wide, bordered by a clay and-freestone foundation 5 feet wide and heavily burnt, which carried an upper layer of the same material, still more heavily burnt and robbed of its facing stones. Thus although timbers were not here founded in a trench, it may be presumed that they were carried upon the foundation and perished in a fierce fire. No further foundation occurred at this level until the north division of building xliii was reached, where an L-shaped foundation of clay and freestone, 3 feet 8 inches wide at the north end, was identified. No superstructure remained, but the foundation was quite unburnt.

The lower level of stone buildings contained two parallel foundations running from east to west, the southern built in cobble and freestone, the northern in clay and cobble. They are linked by a builders' spread of mortar, which continued northwards throughout the trench. It seems

³²⁵ cf. *AA*³ v, 344 = 1908 *Report*, 40; *AA*³ viii, 152 = 1911 *Report*, 14; *AA*³ vii, 160, 162 = 1910 *Report*, 18, 20. *Opus signinum* is a cement with an aggregate of finely broken tile.



likely that these walls are a continuation of the pair observed below the south end of site xxxix in 1936. If so, the building to which they belonged was over 100 feet long.

Below the stone buildings a mass of dark earth³²⁶ marked the top of the levelled first-century remains, accessible below the headquarters and in the southern half of building xliii. At both points it was found that the subsoil, a sandy river-terrace with occasional drifts of gravel, had been covered by a layer of dark-grey puddled clay penetrated by small post-holes and bestrewn with broken wall-plaster and occupational relics, including numerous large oyster-shells.³²⁷ No continuous structural remains were definable below the headquarters, but below site xliii chance had preserved a section of plastered wall-face running from north to south, two feet long and still standing one foot high. The timber behind the plaster had vanished, and the surviving plaster was buried in debris from above. It will be borne in mind that this portion of the site lies outside the southern defences of the Flavian fort and a suggestion of extra-mural opportunities is conveyed by the shells of coarse but succulent oysters associated with the building. It is not fanciful here to recognize one of the eating-houses, timber shacks with plastered walls, where a soldier off duty could supplement monotonous barrack fare.

(b) *Section IV. Antonine remains above Flavian defences.*

This section was cut in 1939 when the consolidation of workshop IV in the west compound was complete. The section (fig. 12) was not informative on the Flavian levels, since most of it crossed the site of the rampart, marked by turfwork still in position. The upper Antonine level appeared as a spread of clean gravel, covered by the clay filling below the third-century buildings, as in section II.³²⁸ The lower Antonine level contained a roadway bordered on

³²⁶ cf. *AA*³ vi, 214 = 1909 *Report*, 12, for a similar layer below the fountain: also *AA*³ vii, 156 = 1910 *Report*, 14, below site xi.

³²⁷ Probably local, but now extinct in Northumberland.

³²⁸ *AA*⁴ xv, 261, fig. 5.

the north by an open drain built in two courses and by a wall 1 foot 6 inches wide, beyond which lay a clay floor bestrewn with ashes and a patch of heavily burnt clay belonging to a hearth or furnace. Examination of the area further north was prevented by overlying remains and by a large cross-trench made by earlier excavators; and these either covered or had removed the north limit of the building. The next feature noted was a culvert two courses high continuing that discovered³²⁹ in section I and overlaid by gravel. It was evident that another street, with drainage-system, had been reached.

(c) Antonine walls uncovered at the north-east angle of the east compound.

Reference has already been made (p. 133) to the existence of early walls at the north-east angle of the east compound. At that point the Antonine remains ride up³³⁰ to a surface upon which only third-century foundations now exist, floors of that period and of all later buildings having been almost completely removed. An opportunity of examining second-century levels without the inconvenience of digging through three super-incumbent levels thus presents itself. The remains as at present defined comprise two parallel walls of the second Antonine period which run from north to south. Both are incorporated in third-century foundations. The easternmost passes below the south wall of building xlv, and over-rides in turn an early Antonine wall running from east to west. This early wall, 1 foot 6 inches wide, is of precisely the same narrow clay-built type as those discovered³³¹ below the headquarters of the west compound in 1939, and it may be considered that such walls were intended to carry a timber superstructure. Like the associated later walls, this one should not be difficult to follow and

³²⁹ *AA*⁴ xv, 254, fig. 3, marked "Antonine drain" to south of tank.

³³⁰ cf. note 28, above. It is evident that there was a general rise in level towards the east over the whole site.

³³¹ *AA*⁴ xvii, pl. x, fig. 2; the wall is marked by a parallel ranging-pole.

an attractive possibility may thus be envisaged for the future.

(d) *Flavian and Antonine levels below and south of Temple VI.*

This area was examined in 1940 and the excavations defining Temple VI have been described above (p. 145). The interior of the Temple *podium* had already been disturbed by a shaft sunk by the excavators of 1907 and opportunity was taken to extend this shaft further north. A section was thus obtained below the north wall of the *podium*, disclosing two Antonine road-levels and a large clay-built Flavian oven, with heavily-burnt stoke-hole to the south, resting upon undisturbed natural sand. Immediately south of the *podium* the Antonine remains had been entirely removed in 1907, but fragmentary remains of a second oven or furnace of the Flavian period were discovered at the lowest level. The significance of these Flavian ovens is not easy to estimate. Discoveries further east had led us to expect that here would be found the westward continuation of the Flavian rampart; and the northern oven seemed at first explicable as a military cooking-oven built into the back of the turf rampart in the usual way. But when, no turfwork having appeared, the oven proved to face southwards and to form part of a series extending right across the line of the rampart, it became evident that the Flavian planning had here been drastically modified. Not that this is the first proof of radical changes in the Flavian plan; it will be recalled that section I produced³²² evidence of drastic rebuilding within the area enclosed by the turf rampart. This is the first proof, however, of changes apparently involving the rampart itself.

Further south, the excavators of 1907 had left the Antonine levels undisturbed. These comprised an upper level of foundations only (very like those discovered below the west headquarters further south but not, it seems, part

³²² *AA*⁴ xv, 258-259, fig. 4.

ANTONINE REMAINS AT CORBRIDGE 1943

PERIOD KEY

I, A.D. 139-40

II, c.A.D. 162

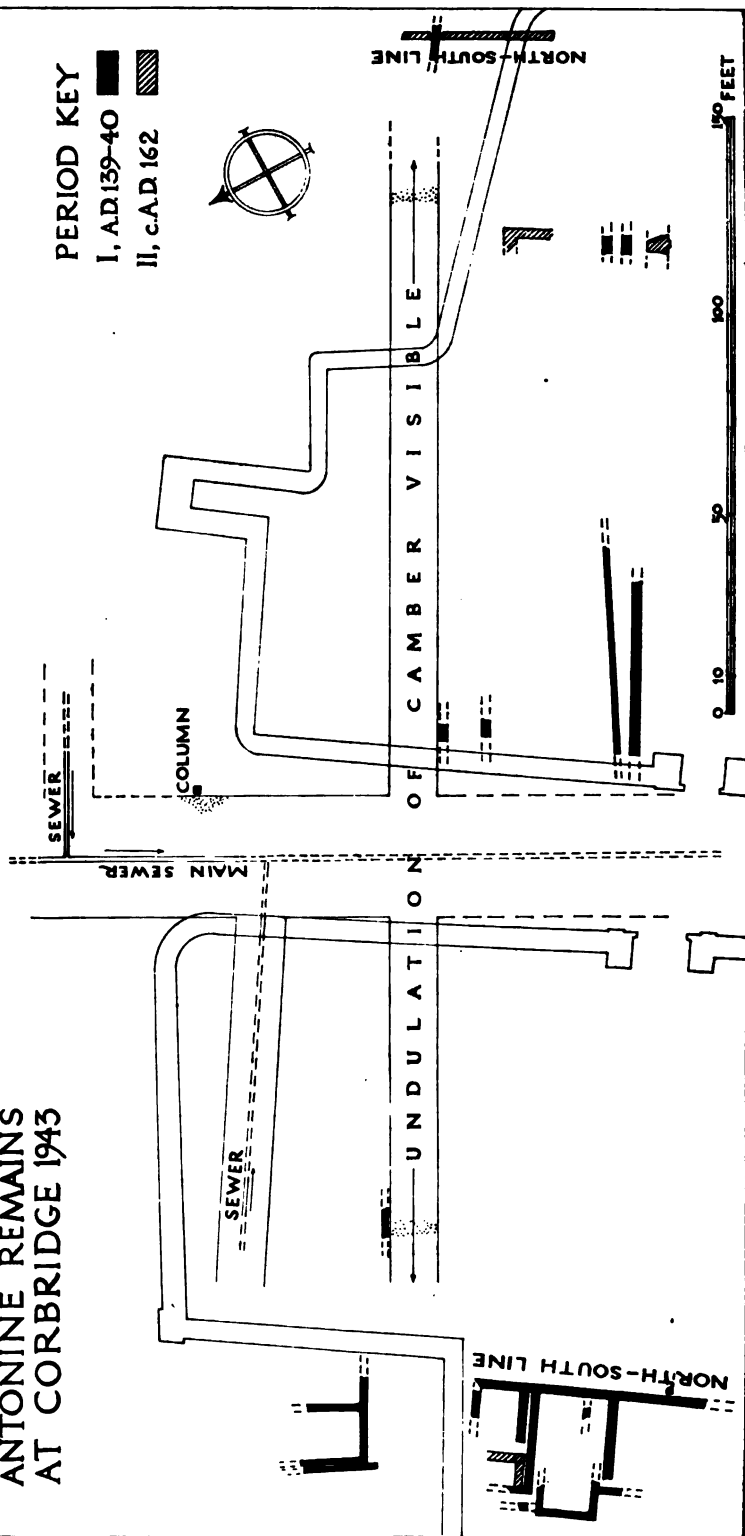


FIG. 13.

of the same³³³ north-to-south range of buildings) and a lower gravel spread. The presence of the buildings indicates that the street running across the site from the east (see below, p. 222) did not continue so far westward.

(e) *The planning of the Antonine site* (fig. 13).

So many scattered indications of Antonine buildings and roads have now been found that it is worth while to consider whether they form a coherent plan. The first erection of the buildings is dated to A.D. 139 and A.D. 140 by the magnificent inscriptions³³⁴ of Lollius Urbicus found in the east and west granaries (sites vii and x). It has been thought³³⁵ that the second of these inscriptions referred to the west granary itself. • But since they served only as paving-stones in those buildings, no information as to their original situations is forthcoming; and more recent study has meanwhile excluded any connexion by linking the granaries with the third-century level. The inscriptions are therefore of value as dating the Antonine activity without now being referable to specific buildings, though it is clear that whatever buildings they graced were undoubtedly structures of importance, erected by legionary artificers.

The sole early Antonine building which has yet proved to reach the standard set by the inscriptions is represented by the column-base discovered in position³³⁶ below the roadway between the compounds, north of the east tank. This column lies upon a north-to-east street, at least 26 feet wide,³³⁷ below which runs a very large drainage-culvert,

³³³ This seems quite certain, owing to the difference in alinement.

³³⁴ *EE* ix, 1146, from the east granary: *AA*⁴ xiii, 274-278 = *JRS* xxvi, 264 = *Germania* xx (1936), 21-25, from the west granary.

³³⁵ Haverfield, *AA*³ iv, 261 = 1907 *Report*, 57. For his opinion on the relationship of the stone to the granary, see *AA*³ v, 316 = 1908 *Report*, 12: but the stone seems to have been built into the loading-platform with the "vexillus" fragment. We might as well say that the latter fragment belonged to and dated the building!

³³⁶ *AA*⁴ xv, 258-260; 263, fig. 6.

³³⁷ This is to be inferred from the fact that the roadway-surface was found in both section I (southern half) and section III, see *op. cit.*, figs. 3, 6.

indicating that this wide street is to be regarded as a main road. At 32 feet north of the column the large culvert is further joined³³⁸ at right-angles by a smaller one from the east, no doubt accompanying a smaller eastward road; while at 21 feet south of the column another minor culvert, also at right-angles, runs into it on the west.³³⁹ The Antonine site was thus systematically sewered, the main sewer being related to a main street and the minor culverts probably to side streets and in any case to a rectangular plan.

Minor streets running from east to west thus await identification. The only example at present defined lies 50 feet south of the column mentioned above. About 15 feet wide, it runs at right-angles to the main street and is marked by a pronounced roll extending right across the compounds. The roll is not, indeed, entirely due to the presence of the street; for it is primarily caused by the ditches of the Flavian fort, on top of which all later structures have subsided. But the sharpness of the undulation is brought about by buildings holding firm on top of the road and subsiding heavily beyond it. Buildings parallel with the street are represented by two early Antonine walls, 15 feet apart, on its south side³⁴⁰ below site xxxix: while two other early Antonine walls, lying further south and not quite parallel, seem to represent yet other buildings³⁴¹ over 100 feet long. Finally, a wall to the north of the same street was observed in section IV, west of the main north-to-south line.

Minor streets from north to south are presumably to be sought on the ends of the undulation marking the east-to-west street. This assumption wins confirmation from the fact that the Antonine buildings below the west headquarters and south of Temple VI lie north and south and may well coincide with a north-to-south street at the point

³³⁸ *Op. cit.*, fig. 3 (northern half), marked as Antonine drain.

³³⁹ See note 329, above.

³⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, general plan and 261, fig. 5.

³⁴¹ See remarks on p. 217.

desired. In the east compound also it is to be noted that later Antonine walls east of the presumed road-line run from north to south (fig. 13).

These points shed light upon the street-planning of a considerable area of the Antonine site. It has for some time been clear that the Antonine builders pushed their systematic plan further southward than the Flavians. It can now be said that the known early Antonine buildings allow no room anywhere between them for a system of south defences. Further, they presumably lay within a fortified area, since they are long blocks of official military type, quite different from the small and less orderly buildings of extramural settlements. It must thus be assumed that the Antonine defences lay to the south, on the lip of the river-terrace and outside the area at present available for excavation. If, then, the early Antonine site is to be considered as an official military site, can we categorize further? The plan indicates a north-to-south main street, separated from others by blocks about 150 feet wide on the east and about 100 feet wide on the west. In these blocks the buildings appear to run from east to west, while outside them they run from north to south. 150 feet is a common dimension³⁴² for barrack-blocks or stables: while 100 feet is too short for such structures and is frequently allotted to principal buildings. Thus, if the main north-to-south street were the *via principalis* of a fort, the eastward buildings would fall into the *praetentura*, while the westward buildings would comprise the main buildings of the fort. It may, then, be no mere coincidence that this main street lies near the eventual resting-places³⁴³ of the great Antonine building-inscriptions. Of the later Antonine period much less is known. But on the main street at least it has been

³⁴² *AA*⁴ xix, 25-30 (barracks), 9-10 (*principia*).

³⁴³ That is, the east and west granaries (sites vi and x). This is a long shot, for we do not know what happened to the stones between the second and fourth centuries. But it is assumed that like the Birdoswald slabs from principal buildings (*CW*² xxx, 199-202, and *JRS* xix, 214-215) they were at no time moved far away.

shown³⁴⁴ to be a modification of the first, and this will suggest that the early Antonine buildings and streets determined the main lines of the plan in both periods. But it is evident that the planning of the buildings differed materially in detail.³⁴⁵ Exploration of the area south of and including site xlv should provide the necessary clues to further development of our knowledge and the requisite line of approach to the Antonine buildings now isolated on the unlevelled portions of the courtyard in site xi.

³⁴⁴ AA⁴ xv, 263, fig. 6.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; cf. AA⁴ xvii, 85, plan of buildings below headquarters.



SCULPTURE FROM CORBRIDGE.

Fig. 1. JUPITER.

Fig. 4. MINERVA.

Fig. 5. A GENIUS.



SCULPTURE FROM CORBRIDGE.

Fig. 1. JUNO.

Fig. 2. PILASTER OF THE ROSALIAE.



1



2



3



4



5

SCULPTURE FROM CORBRIDGE.

Figs. 1, 2. *SIGNA*.

Figs. 3, 4. *VICTORY*.

Fig. 5. *EAGLE ON THUNDERBOLT*.

SCULPTURE
FROM CORBRIDGE.

Fig. 1. CASTOR OR POLLUX.

Fig. 2. THE SUN-GOD.



Fig. 3. A FRIEZE, IN WHICH THE SUN-GOD RIDES
TOWARDS THE DWELLING OF CASTOR OR
POLLUX, WHILE A NEW SCENE BEGINS
BEYOND THE TREE TO RIGHT.

7

1000

1000

1000

1000



SCULPTURE FROM CORBRIDGE.

Figs 1. 2. FRAGMENTS OF A PEDIMENT.

Fig. 3. FRAGMENT OF A BULL.



SCULPTURE FROM CORBRIDGE.

FIG. 1. ALTAR OF CYBELE: ATTIS OR MEN.

FIG. 2. ALTAR OF CYBELE: HERMES.

FIG. 3. ALTAR OF CYBELE: ATTIS OR MEN.

FIG. 4. SEATED GODDESS ATTENDED BY FORTUNE.

FIG. 5. RAM'S-HEAD CORBEL.



SCULPTURE FROM CORBRIDGE.

Figs. 1, 2. CAPITAL OF THE NYMPHS.

Fig. 3. NYMPH HOLDING A SHELL.



1. Statue of *Iuppiter optimus maximus* from headquarters of west compound, Corbridge.



2. Hercules killing the Hydra, with Athena's aid. Relief from headquarters of west compound, Corbridge.



1. Dedication to *Sol Invictus* of c. A.D. 162, once supported by flying Victories: the erasure is of A.D. 192.



2. Fragments of panel with *vexillum* of the Second Legion and pilasters of the *Rosaliae* (cf. pl. v, 2).



Dedication to *Discipulina Augustorum* by the Second Legion,
from headquarters of west compound, Corbridge.



1. Fragment of second-century dedication to *Mars Ultor*, by a tribune of the Sixth Legion, Corbridge.



2. Dedication to *Disciplina Augustorum* from Corbridge, now at the Moot Hall, Hexham.

Arch. Ael., 4th ser., vol. xxi.

Plate Xe



Pediment of the Capitoline wolf and twins.



Dexter half of a panel of Faunus, after Vergil's *Aeneid*



1



2



3

Corbridge: fragments of local ware by Alletio, decorated with figures of (1) Dolichenus and (2, 3) martial gods. Fragment 3 is signed by the potter.



Corbridge: Altar to Iuppiter Dolichenus, Caelestis Brigantia and Salus, by a centurion of the Sixth Legion.

V.—JUDGES OF ASSIZE AT NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

BY C. H. HUNTER BLAIR.

[Read on 25th November 1942.]

The Public Library of Newcastle upon Tyne has recently purchased a manuscript volume entitled—*Bertram Mitford, esqr., sheriff, Peregrine George Ellison, gentleman, under-sheriff, 1835. John Blake, Gaoler, 1835.*

The volume contains the names of the bailiffs of the county of Northumberland; those of ninety-eight grand jurors and seventy-two common jurors summoned for the Spring assizes of the county for the year 1835. There is also a list of the prisoners and convicts for the same date, with a note of the crimes for which they were to be tried and the sentences passed upon them. These lists are written in a clear clerkly hand and are apparently an official copy made for the sheriff's use.¹ This is followed by an account of the forms to be used and the ceremonies to be observed before and at the arrival and during the stay of the judges for the above named assizes. This part appears to be written by Bertram Mitford himself, as a daily record for his private satisfaction. The volume also contains similar particulars for the Summer assizes 1845 when Ralph Carr was sheriff and a shorter account of the Spring assizes 1846.

Little is known about assizes held for Northumberland by the king's justices itinerant before the thirteenth cen-

¹ A copy of these is also in John Bell's Commonplace Book now belonging to Mr. J. S. Mitcalfe.

tury; they took place only at long and irregular intervals, but with the accession of Henry III (1216) they were held more regularly and the procedure became more settled.² On November 3rd, 1218, the sheriff of Northumberland was ordered by the king's writ "to be attendant upon" the king's justices itinerant, Richard (Marsh) bishop of Durham, Robert Vipont, Martin Pateshull, William son of Richard and Roger Huscarl (*justiciarii nostri itinerantes*). He is ordered to be attendant upon them "both on the day and in the place which they will let you know and you shall cause your company to come according as they shall command you."³ His "company" would include the knights, gentlemen and freeholders of the county together with the coroners and bailiffs, whom we know were accustomed in later years to accompany the sheriff in procession to the appointed meeting place—hence called Sheriff Hill. That this was the meeting place from early times is shown when, in 1279, the jurors presented that the king of Scots, the archbishop of York, the prior of Tynmouth, the bishop of Durham and Gilbert of Umfreville, or their bailiffs, all holders of special franchises, ought to go *ad capud villae de Gatesheved ad quendam fontem qui vocatur Chille* and there plead their liberties before the king's justices; if they came from York, but if they came from Cumberland they were to meet at Fourstones.⁴ Newcastle upon Tyne formed part of the county of Northumberland until 1400, when it was made into a county with a sheriff of its own. Thenceforward the town sheriffs shared attendance upon the judges with the county sheriffs. What this attendance meant is told in Bertram Mitford's manuscript volume.

"Of late years the Governors of the Newcastle Infirmary⁵ dine on this day at the Turk's Head Inn (43 dined this year) and the sheriff and undersheriff dine there, the former sitting on the right hand of the senior steward (Henry Bell esq.) at the head of the table

² Surtees Socy. Publs., no. 88, p. ix.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1216-25, p. 206.

⁴ Surtees Socy. Publs., no. 88, p. 358.

⁵ Opened 8 October 1752.

and the undersheriff on the right hand of the steward (Hedley Vicars esq.) who sits at the foot of the table. The dinner is at two o'clock and the company rise about four and accompany the sheriff to the place mentioned in his invitation card (The Moot Hall). The procession is as follows:

Bailiffs two and two.

Bailiff errant in the sheriff's livery.

Two trumpeters in the sheriff's livery, with banners bearing the sheriff's arms attached to their trumpets.

The Gaoler with a black rod.⁶

The undersheriff with a white rod and sword.

The high sheriff with a white rod and sword.

Then all the gentlemen who choose to attend 2 and 2.

" At the Moot Hall two tables are set out covered with green cloth and supplied with biscuits, wine and punch. The High Sheriff sits at the head of the first table and the undersheriff at the foot. The undersheriff must be very attentive to the time the Judges have fixed to be at Sheriff Hill and the High Sheriff must proceed from the Moot Hall so as to be there before the Judges. This year the procession went from the Moot Hall about five o'clock in the evening past the S.W. side of the old castle along Bailiff Gate into the narrow part of Westgate Street along Collingwood Street, Mosley Street down Dean Street along the bottom of the Side across the Bridge and so forwards to Sheriff Hill in the following order (plate xi):

Bailiffs 2 & 2 with their rods.

Two trumpeters with Banners, Ribands etc.

Gaoler with his black rod.

Undersheriff with his sword and white rod.

High Sheriff with his sword and white rod etc.

Two pages holding his stirrups.

Gentlemen and yeomen servants.

(all the above on horseback)

High Sheriff's coach with 6 horses, followed by his livery servants.

The mayor's coach and other carriages.

" This continues to the old Tolbooth⁷ in Gateshead when the two pages quit the side of the High Sheriff and are placed behind

⁶ *Wand* it is called here, but the earlier and more correct word is rod.

⁷ This stood in the middle of High Street, opposite the end of Swinburne Street.

his coach. Many of the gentlemen and carriages quit the procession before it reaches Sheriff Hill. When the sheriff and attendants arrive there, they go into the house⁸ where some wine and punch has been prepared by order of the sheriff. The sheriff and undersheriff wait the arrival of the Judges. The Judge's carriage draws up along side of the High Sheriff's coach when the sheriffs advance and pay their compliments to their lordships (Sir N. C. Tindal arrived alone at 7 o'clock, Lord Abinger being detained at Durham. His lordship arrived at the Mansion House privately about 11 o'clock). The Judges then step into the sheriff's coach and take their seats facing the horses, then the sheriffs step in and proceed to Newcastle. The sheriffs must observe these forms viz; to step into the coach after the Judges and step out before them and stand a little aside and always to sit with their backs to the horses. At the boundary stone⁹ on Tyne bridge the sheriff of Newcastle, attended by his undersheriff and officers, meets the Judges. The coach stops there to allow the sheriff of Newcastle time to pay his compliments to the Judges and he then attended by his officers precedes the coach to the Guildhall of Newcastle where they are met by the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of Newcastle in their gowns. (John Lionel Hood mayor in 1835, John Mellor Chapman, sheriff, John Adamson undersheriff, George Hutton Wilkinson, recorder). The High Sheriff, undersheriff and Judges then step out of the coach and follow the mayor into the Newcastle court to open the Commission but as the High Sheriff has no business under this commission he and his undersheriff wait in the Mayor's Chamber until the Judges are ready to proceed to the County Courts which is done in the following order namely, Town Bailiffs, Town undersheriff, Town sheriff, County undersheriff, High Sheriff, Aldermen, Mayor with the Judges on each side. The High Sheriff, undersheriff and Judges then step into the carriage which has been waiting on the Sandhill, and preceded by the Bailiffs and trumpeters and attended by the pages go to the Moot Hall where the Commission is opened and the High Sheriff returns the Precepts to him directed by handing the same to the senior Judge when called upon by the Crier to do so. The court is then adjourned (this year to Monday morning 3rd August at eleven o'clock) and the Judges accompanied by the High Sheriff and undersheriff get into the coach and preceded by the bailiffs and trumpeters go to the Mansion House. When they arrive there the Judges are conducted by the High Sheriff and under-

⁸ The Old Cannon inn; there is a pump opposite it which may represent the Chille Well of 1279.

⁹ The "blue stone," now in the Keep, which formerly marked the boundary on Tyne bridge between Newcastle and Gateshead.

sheriff to the door of the Mansion House where the Mayor meets them and the High Sheriff and undersheriff then leave them, unless the County sheriffs choose to sup with the Mayor which they are always invited to do and which they this year did. The High Sheriff during the entertainment at the Mansion House in the Assize week sits on the right hand of the senior Judge who sits on the right hand of the Mayor and the undersheriff sits on the right hand of the town sheriff at the foot of the table.

Sunday 3rd August 1835.

" This morning at nine o'clock the county sheriffs in the High Sheriff's coach preceded by the Bailiffs and Trumpeters on foot with the pages on each side of the coach went down to the Mansion House and breakfasted there. About a quarter past ten o'clock the sheriffs as before conducted the two Judges to St. Nicholas church. The order of the procession from the Mansion House was as follows :

Serjeants at Mace.

Judges officers.

County Bailiffs.

The mayor and aldermen in the Mansion House coach.

The two Judges and Sheriffs in the High Sheriff's coach.

And then the other carriages in attendance.

" Having arrived at the church door the procession to the Mansion House pew is as follows :

Water Bailiff.

Sword Bearer.

Town Sheriff.

High Sheriff.

Mayor with the Judges on each hand.

Recorder.

Aldermen.

" (The judges, high sheriff, mayor, aldermen and undersheriffs received the Sacrament—Rev. John Davy Cade vicar of Aycliffe preached the sermon.) After the service the procession returned to the Mansion House in the same order."

On the following Monday and Tuesday the judges were conducted to and from the Mansion House to the Moot Hall and Guild Hall by the county and town sheriffs respectively. On Wednesday Lord Abinger "finished the

civil business at the Moot Hall at 12 noon and after being conducted back to the Mansion House left Newcastle for Belsay Castle." On Wednesday "at nine o'clock in the morning the sheriffs went to the Mansion House and took their leave of Sir N. C. Tindal previously to his setting off for Carlisle. The High Sheriff then delivered to the judge a list of persons qualified to succeed him" (Bertram Mitford), "eight names were on the list, the first upon it Thomas Riddell of Felton Park was named sheriff for the year 1836," and acted as sheriff at the Spring assizes of that year.

The second part of this manuscript volume contains a similar detailed account for the Summer assizes of 1845, and of the Spring assizes 1846 when Ralph Carr was high sheriff. The meeting still took place at Sheriff Hill but the judges were no longer lodged and entertained at the old Mansion House in the Close. That "noble house handsome furnished," built in 1691, was sold by auction with its entire contents in January 1837 and the judges were provided with "lodgings" in Eldon Square. The dinner given by the governors of the Infirmary to the sheriffs had been discontinued from 1844 and a luncheon was provided instead; the procession to the Moot Hall was also discontinued, "and at 12 o'clock the High Sheriff and under-sheriff with a few friends walked from the Turk's Head Inn to the Moot Hall to meet the judges at the usual place." For the Spring assizes of 1846 Mr. Justice Coleridge came by train from Carlisle. He was met at "the Forth station," which had just been completed, by "the sheriffs who had proceeded at 1.30 from the Queen's Head inn in a carriage attended by trumpeters and bailiffs to the Newcastle and Carlisle railway station, where the judge arrived about half-past two and was immediately conducted by the sheriffs to the Moot Hall. The procession by road, shorn of much of its former magnificence, was resumed for the Summer assizes of 1846 when the sheriff's retinue "consisted of two trumpeters on foot, six bailiffs with white

wands on foot; the carriage, which was a very beautiful one, was drawn by four horses and attended by two little sheriff's boys dressed after the time of Robin Hood, with blue feathers in their velvet hats, and two outriders and two of the Newcastle police on horseback, met the judges at the Cannon Inn." This was probably still the Old Cannon at Sheriff Hill, but after the Durham road by Low Fell was opened the meeting place was at the New Cannon in Low Fell.

The cost to the sheriff of the county, apart from that incurred by the town, of the customary feasting and pageantry was very heavy. Sir Thomas Swinburne, sheriff for 1628, kept a record of his expenditure for the assizes of that year, which has been printed in Hodgson's history.¹⁰ He entertained two hundred gentlemen to dinner who went with him in procession to meet the judges and another two hundred on the following day when the judges dined with them. His total expenses for food (including seventeen stags and bucks), drink, music, livery coats¹¹ (*blew coats*), etc., came to the very large sum of £214 12s. 10d., equivalent to more than as many thousands at present-day values. The cost to the town was also considerable as the following extracts from the municipal accounts show.¹²

Aug. 1592: Paid to Mr. Wm. Greenwell sheriff for the charges of the Judges Banquett in the Pentas,¹³ £3 16s. 10d. .

Sept 1595: Paid for the charges of the Judges Banquett in the Pentas at Lambas, £4 7s. 2d.

Sept. 1651: Paid Mr. Maior which he disburst to entertain the Judges (though they came no further than Yorke this yeare) and for a present to the lord generall Cromwell when he was at Stella, £60.

¹⁰ *History of Northumberland*, III, i, pp. 358ff.

¹¹ Gloves are not mentioned, but in an account written in the early eighteenth century seventy-two pairs were provided—the Judges getting six pairs each, the remainder for officers and men. *N/C Proc.*³ VII, 248.

¹² M. A. Richardson, *Rare Tracts*, vol. III, Hist.

¹³ Penthouse. An upper room of the old Town House on the Sandhill.

Sept. 1657: Paid Mr. Wm. Johnson for the entertainment of Judge Baron Parker, and Judge Crooke with all their followers from 7 Aug. to 15 Aug., £22 4s. 9d.

Aug. 1659: Paid Marke Milbanke, maior for the entertainment of Judge Baron Thorpe and Judge Baron Parker and all their followers from 11 Aug. to . . . Aug., £68.

Part of the entertainment, at least in the seventeenth century,¹⁴ was a water picnic on the town barge down the river to North Shields. Roger North has drawn a very pleasant picture of one of these jaunts in his *Lives of the Norths*, when, in 1675, Sir Francis North, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, held the Autumn assizes in Newcastle.

"His lordship's entertainment at Newcastle was very agreeable, because it went most upon the trades of the place, as coal-mines, salt works, and the like, with the wonders that belonged to them; and the magistrates were solicitous to give him all the diversion they could: and one was going to Tinmouth castle in the town barge.¹⁵ The equipment of the vessel was very stately; for, a-head there sat a four or five drone bagpipe, the North-country organ, and the trumpeter astern; and so we rowed merrily along. (Plates XII and XIII.) The making salt I thought the best sight we had there. The other entertainment was a supper in the open air upon an island in the Tyne^{15a} somewhat above the town; and all by the way of ligg and sit upon the ground; but provisions for a camp, and wine of all sorts, very fine. In short, all circumstances taken together, the cool of the evening, the verdant flat of the island with wood dispersed upon it, and the water curling about us, view of the hill on both sides of the river, the good appetites, best provisions, and a world of merry stories of the Scots (which by the way makes a great part of the wit in those parts), makes the place very agreeable, where every one walked after his fancy, and all were pleased."¹⁶

¹⁴ In 1635 10s. was paid the wherry-men for attending with the barge to carry the Judges to Sheeles (M. A. Richardson, *op. cit.*, III, p. 48).

¹⁵ Plates XII and XIII, from pictures belonging to the Corporation of the city, illustrate the procession of boats with the town barge as it appeared on Ascension Day when the civic authorities went by river from Hedwin Streams to Spar Hawk to proclaim that the soil of the river wherever covered by water was within the town and county of Newcastle upon Tyne. This was last done in 1891 (see *Monthly Chronicle*, 1891, p. 275).

^{15a} King's Meadows, now dredged away. It lay opposite Elswick, and as the name implies was royal property. It was usually granted to the county sheriff with the custody of the castle.

¹⁶ *Lives of the Norths*, by Hon. Roger North, I, 280, ed. 1826.

Reminiscent of a more famous picnic, in another barge, upon a greater river :

" But now secure the painted Vessel glides,
The Sun-beams trembling on the floating Tydes,
While melting music steals upon the Sky,
And softened sounds along the Waters die.
Smooth flow the Waves, the Zephyrs gently play,
Belinda smil'd and all the world was gay."¹⁷

Spite of the heavy cost borne by the town, the expenses of the county sheriff were still very burdensome, and because of this, men, otherwise qualified, tried to evade their year of office. In February 1846, at a meeting of the gentlemen of the county, it was resolved " that the expenses incidental to the office of sheriff were unnecessarily large and that a committee of such gentlemen as had themselves served the office should be appointed to consider and report in what manner and to what extent the same might be reduced."¹⁸ Sir Charles L. M. Monck was appointed chairman and the committee reported as follows :

" Moot Hall 27th February, 1846.

" Gentlemen—We, your committee met this morning according to your direction, and having considered the matter charged, are of opinion, that, since the establishment of railway conveyance up to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the riding out by the sheriff on horseback, in state, to meet and receive the judges, might now be with full reason discontinued. Next, we are of opinion, that, since the judges in future will have to be received at the stations in the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, four horses to the sheriffs coach would be sufficient equipment, and that the outriders hitherto used are also now unnecessary. Next, we are of opinion that the reception of the county in state at the Moot Hall by the sheriff, before he proceeds to meet the judges, is become, if the riding out should be discontinued unnecessary. Further, we think, that, as the assize fees to the judges, and complimentary fees to their servants, are of the ancient practise, whether originally right or not, but as the salaries of the judges have been lately much increased, it is now, we are of opinion,

¹⁷ *Rape of the Lock*, canto II, 47-52.

¹⁸ *Newcastle Courant*.



BARGE DAY ON THE TYNE IN THE 18TH CENTURY BY WILSON HEPPLE.

VI.—A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF
MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS
FROM CORBRIDGE.

By WILLIAM BULMER.

[Read 24th February 1943.]

In the course of excavation at Corstopitum in 1912 two inscribed fragments of stone were found on site 40. This site was then tentatively described as a temple, but is now considered to have been a *schola* or gild room; it stands north of the entrance to the west compound. There is noth-



FIG. 1. FRAGMENTS FOUND IN 1912.

ing in the published report to indicate the circumstances of the find or the level at which it was made, or, again, whether the fragments were or were not re-used on the site on which they were found. Subsequent research, however, has shown that the building belongs to the fourth century; the inscription has therefore nothing to do with it, and can be considered independently.

The two fragments (fig. 1) obviously form part of the same inscription, expanded by our late member Professor Haverfield in the 1912 Corstopitum Report¹ as follows:

. . . **S M**(il Leg) **II** (Aug. et XX.) **V.V. FE**(c. sub c)**VRA** (Sex. Calpurn.) **AGR**(icol)**AE** . . .

" . . . set up by the soldiers of the legio II Augusta and the legio XX Valeria Victrix, under command of Sextus Calpurnius Agricola . . ."

Both fragments are preserved in the museum at Corstopitum, and some time ago it was proposed to mount them for exhibition and to restore between them the missing portion of the inscription. While the restoration of the name **AGRICOLAE** was unquestionable, difficulty was experienced with the upper line. The base of a single upright stroke seemed insufficient evidence upon which to postulate the letter **M**, especially as the word *milites* (soldiers) is almost, if not quite, unknown in this type of inscription. In view of this, some other interpretation of the figure "**II**" seemed desirable; a likely alternative was **COS II**, forming part of an imperial title. If the second consulate of an emperor occurred while Calpurnius Agricola was governor of Britain the probability of **COS II** being correct would be increased. It is known that Calpurnius Agricola was sent to Britain about the year 161, and in that year the emperor Lucius Verus was consul for the second time.

Assuming, then, that the "**II**" belongs to **COS II**, the "**s**" of the left hand fragment and the base of the upright stroke which follow it, still required elucidation. In imperial titles the consulate is frequently preceded by the year of tribunician power, and Lucius Verus entered his second tribunate on 10 December 161. The upright stroke could, then, form the first digit of **II**, on the spacing given by the known word **AGRICOLAE**, and the "**s**" the final letter of the words signifying the tribunician power. The form **TRIB.POTES**, fitted the space available and was adopted despite its rarity.

¹ AA² IX, 265.

When the work had reached this point our member Mr. W. P. Hedley suggested that a stone built into the Pele Tower at Corbridge (fig. 2) was part of the same inscription; an examination of the style of the lettering, and in particular of the border of the inscription, confirmed his suggestion. Thus we were provided with the upper left hand and lower right hand corners of what seemed to be a large and important dedication. The fact that the Pele Tower inscription is dedicated to Marcus Aurelius did not invalidate Mr. Hedley's identification, since Marcus, soon after his accession on 7 March 161, made Lucius Verus his colleague.



FIG. 2. FRAGMENT FROM THE PELE TOWER, CORBRIDGE.

The contrast between the plain triangular stops on the Pele Tower portion and the elaborate leaf-stops on the other fragments presented some difficulty, but it seemed logical, when restoring the text, to confine the triangular stops to those parts of the imperial title for which we had no evidence of the use of leaf-stops and to use leaf-stops for the rest of the text. No precedent for this, or even for the use of two kinds of stop on a monumental inscription could be quoted at the time. Later, however, Mr. Richmond pointed out the importance in this connection of the slab from Bridge-ness, West Lothian, now preserved in the National Museum

of Antiquities in Edinburgh. This important stone, the largest and finest of the distance slabs recovered from the Antonine Wall,² contains a dedication of exactly the same type as that under discussion and its date falls within twenty years of that postulated for the Corbridge text. In the Bridgeness inscription triangular stops are used only in the imperial title and leaf-stops throughout the rest of the text.

The second line of the Pele Tower inscription begins with the Emperor's name, showing that the whole of the first line must have been occupied by the titular prefix IMPERATORI CAESARI, or rather, if it is a dedication to co-emperors, the words IMPERATORIBVS CAESARIBVS. Mr. Hedley's identification thus gave us information of cardinal importance, as we now had the length of a complete line of the text, to which there had been previously no certain clue. The task of combining the two known portions of the inscription was greatly simplified by this knowledge; the tribunician year and the consulship of Marcus Aurelius could be supplied from the known date of the second tribunate of Verus and the first portion of the text thus restored.

The restoration of LEG.XX. was determined by the surviving honorary title of the legion, represented by the "v.v." for Valeria Victrix. Further, since the style of Verus is completed by the COS II of the line above, LEG.XX. must have been preceded by a word, or words referring to that legion. The obvious word was VEXILLATIO (a detachment), and this conformed to the space available when drawn to the scale and spacing of the known parts of the same line. As the name of Sextus Calpurnius Agricola occupied the whole of the penultimate line—since AGRICOLAE concludes it and SUB CVRA concludes the line above—the last line must have contained his title as Imperial Legate in Britain. This is usually expressed as LEG.AVG.PR.PR., but from the space available this was obviously too constricted, and the title must have been given more fully. The form

² Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland* (2nd ed.), 36 and 362-5.

LEGATI AVGVSTORVM PR. PR. was chosen, as being appropriate to the legate of two co-emperors. A satisfactory reconstruction seemed to have been achieved, and confirmation was even forthcoming: for during the summer of 1938 two more portions of this part of the slab were found by Mr. Richmond in the north to south road opposite site 40. These confirmed in a most satisfactory manner this choice of title and the final lines of the suggested restoration (fig. 3).

Accordingly, the completed reconstruction was included, at the last moment, in *Excavations at Corbridge 1936-1938* in the volume of *Archæologia Aeliana* for 1938.³ The rather



FIG. 3. FRAGMENTS FOUND IN 1912 AND 1938, CONJOINED, CONFIRMING RESTORATION OF TEXT.

summary account which accompanied it is without a translation and omits any reference to Mr. Hedley's contribution, the connection of the fragments in the museum with that in the Pele Tower.

A final restoration of the inscription had not, however, been reached in spite of the apparently complete text pub-

³ AA⁴ xv, 285.

lished in *Archæologia Aeliana*. During 1940 a search among the smaller inscribed stones in the museum brought to light another fragment (fig. 4). This fragment contained part of the "c" and the "o" and "s" of COS in line three, but no trace of any of the letters of POTES, which, according to the suggested text, ought to have come below it.⁴ Instead there was a portion of a leaf-stop followed by the top of the letter "A." This seemed to imply that a hitherto unsuspected line existed between the third and fourth lines as postulated. The new word beginning with "A" could only be part of the imperial title of Verus, since Marcus Aurelius' style finishes with COS III in the middle of the third line,



FIG. 4. FRAGMENT FROM CORSTOPTITUM MUSEUM.

while that of Verus is known to continue to the end of the fourth. The only word in the normal title of an emperor which begins with A is Augustus—or as usually abbreviated in inscriptions AVG—this it was quite impossible to arrange in the place fixed for the new word by the position of COS above it. A major difficulty seemed to have arisen until it was remembered that in A.D. 163 Marcus Aurelius had conferred the honorific title of ARMENIACVS upon his co-emperor. Coins of Verus issued in the autumn of that year have the obverse legend L.VERVS AVG. ARMENIACVS.⁵

The insertion of ARMENIACVS in the position fixed by the COS above it, involved the re-arrangement of Verus' style in the third and the new fourth lines: the space now available enabled the never very satisfactory TRIB.POTES. to be

⁴ This is the stone from site 40 noted in AA³ IX, 270, no. 5.

⁵ e.g. Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, 254, no. 498.

replaced by the full TRIBVNICIAE POTESTATIS, in agreement with the style accorded Marcus Aurelius. The only other alteration required was to equate the emperors' tribunician and consular numbers to those current in A.D. 163.

While the year 163 is the earliest in which the text, as set out, could have been used, it could also have applied in the year following. As the number of Verus tribunate is known to begin with "I" and not with "V" the inscription must date between the autumn of 163 when Verus became ARMENIACVS and 10 December 164 when his fifth tribunate began.

This then is the text as reconstructed in the light of present knowledge :

IMPERATORIBVS. CAESARIBVS
M. AVRELIO. ANTONINO. AVG. TRIBVNICIAE
POTESTATIS. XVII. COS. III. ET. L. AVR
ELIO. VERO. AVG. ARMENIACO. TRIB
VNICIAE. POTESTATIS. III. COS. II
VEXILLATIO. LEG. XX. V.V. FECIT. SVB. CVRA
SEXTI. CALPVRNI. AGRICOLAE.
LEGATI. AVGVSTORVM. PR. PR.

"For the Emperors and Caesars Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, tribune for the seventeenth time, consul for the third time, and Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, conqueror of Armenia, tribune for the third time, consul for the second time, a detachment of the Twentieth Legion, Valeria Victrix, made (*this building*) under care of Sextus Calpurnius Agricola, praetorian legate of the Emperors." (Fig. 5.)

Through the kindness of the North Eastern Electric Supply Company the stone from the Pele Tower is now deposited with the other fragments in the museum at Corstopitum. The trustees of the Corbridge Excavation Fund are also very grateful to our member Mr. Evetts, Master of Design at King Edward VII School of Art, King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, an authority on Roman lettering, for the beautiful full size reproduction of the text which he

has made and presented to them. It is from this drawing that fig. 5 has been prepared. The writer also wishes to thank Mr. I. A. Richmond for advice and assistance generously given on the reconstruction and also in the preparation of this paper.

IMPERATORIBVS · CAESARIBVS
M·AVRELIO·ANTONINO·AVG·TRIBVNICIAE
POTESTATIS·XVII·COS·III·ET·L·AVR
ELIO·VERO·AVG·ARMENIACO·TRIB
VNICIAE·POTESTATIS·III·COS·II·
VEXILLATIO·LEG·XX·V·FECIT·SVB·CVRA·
SEXTI·CALPVRNI·AGRICOLA·
LEGATI·AVGVSTORVM·PR

FIG. 5. THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT, BASED UPON THE FULL SCALE DRAWING BY MR. EVETTS, KING'S COLLEGE.
Overall dimensions seven feet by three feet six inches.

VII.—WILLIAM HENRY KNOWLES.

BY C. H. HUNTER BLAIR.

[Read on 31st March 1943.]

William Henry Knowles (plate xiv) was born at Newcastle upon Tyne 14th May 1857 and died at Malvern 18th January 1943. 'He married, in 1890, Jessie, daughter of Councillor John Benson of Newcastle, who predeceased him.

When his school days were ended Knowles chose architecture for his profession and was articled to William Lister Newcombe, then a well-known architect in the town. After the completion of his training he practised in Newcastle for thirty-eight years, sometimes working upon his own account, sometimes in partnership with others, as Armstrong and Knowles and as Knowles, Oliver and Leeson. He became a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1891 and continued until his resignation in 1922, when he retired from work and left Newcastle, to make his home at Cheltenham and afterwards at Malvern. Thus, like John Gibbon, Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms, "he enjoyed for near *forty* years the rare felicity of uniting in the same pursuit his duty and inclination."

It is not possible to name in this short memoir all of the many important buildings with which Knowles adorned Newcastle upon Tyne and its neighbourhood, but mention may be made of the good work he did at King's College. He designed its west front with the Lothian Bell tower and the fine King's Hall within the college. He also designed the east gateway of the college and the dignified buildings



WILLIAM HENRY KNOWLES.

which house King Edward VII School of Art, the Agricultural Department and the School of Architecture. For the rest, he was one of the best known and most skilled architects of his time in the northern counties. The exercise of his profession did not in his early days take up all his energy; as a young man he held a commission in the 1st Northumberland Volunteer Artillery, and during the war of 1914-18 he was an officer, for the years 1915-16, in the 1st Northumberland brigade of Royal Artillery. He was also a freemason, a Past Master of the Northumberland Lodge, and in 1913 Past Provincial Grand Warden of Northumberland.

It is, however, his work for archæology, history and mediaeval architecture which most concerns us here and for which his name will always be honoured by this society. He was elected a member on 29th October 1884, became a councillor 18th February 1891, a vice-president in January 1913 and an honorary member in January 1935. He was the senior member and "father" of the society for some time before his death. From 1889 until he left the north in 1922, his pen and pencil were continuously active in describing and illustrating the mediaeval antiquities of the north. *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead* was published in 1890. The text of this valuable local book was written by J. R. Boyle, but its value was greatly increased by many drawings and sketches by W. H. Knowles. There was thus preserved a record of interesting old buildings and architectural details, many of which have now perished or been destroyed.

He became a member of the History of Northumberland committee in 1900, and in volume VI of that work was specially thanked for his contributions of plans, drawings and architectural descriptions. Each succeeding volume, until the thirteenth, contains similar words of thanks for similar help. He ceased such active assistance after 1922, but he yet remained on the committee and his counsel was often sought by it upon difficult architectural points.

Knowles was also for many years one of the chief members of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland and contributed various papers upon architectural subjects to its *Transactions* (bibliography, p. 252). He directed many important excavations, illustrating the results by careful plans, drawings and sketches. The chief of these were on the Roman site at Corbridge, between the years 1907-14, at the barbican of Alnwick castle and at the barbican between the Norman and Black Gates of the castle at Newcastle; the last named led to the discovery of the site of the Norman Gate, Heron's pit and the interesting works of the drawbridge within the Blackgate. His excavations also led to important discoveries at Tynmouth priory church and at the old church of Sockburn. Nor should our society forget his work for our library. When the present writer, as librarian, proposed in 1908 that the books should be removed from their prison in a dark, unhealthy dungeon, within locked doors of brass wirework, and made freely accessible to members of the society, it was Knowles who then suggested that the upper room in the Blackgate should be used for them, and it was he who designed, without cost to the society, the cases and furniture which now make it so useful to our members.

The bibliography (pp. 252-3) attests the great amount of work he did upon the subjects which this society was formed to investigate and record. He was, indeed, between the years 1899-1922 one of the most active of our members, his work helped greatly to raise this society to the high place it holds amongst other similar institutions. He received on the 30th January 1935 the cordial congratulations of the society upon his jubilee as a member.

He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1899 and was a member of the council of that influential society for the years 1915-16. Articles by him upon Roman and mediaeval subjects were printed in *Archæologia* (bibliography, p. 253). He was also for many

years an active member of the Royal Archæological Institute, served for long periods upon its council and contributed papers to its *Journal*. He was honorary secretary for the Institute's summer meetings at Ipswich in 1899 and at Durham in 1908.

As said above, Knowles gave up professional work and left the north in 1922, but his retired leisure was not spent in rest, it only gave him time to work more strenuously at his favourite pursuits. In 1923 he supervised an examination of the Roman baths at Bath on behalf of the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments. He joined the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society and between the years 1926-33 contributed many important papers to its *Transactions* (bibliography, p. 253). He became vice-chairman of the council of that society in 1928 and was appointed to the higher office of President in 1930. His presidential address upon "The development of architecture in Gloucestershire to the close of the twelfth century" was an important contribution to the history of architecture and of more than local value.

He was also for some years chairman of the Gloucester Roman Research Committee whilst it was exploring the Roman walls of *Glevum*. His other activities in the county and neighbourhood of Gloucester were many: a member of the bishop of Worcester's Advisory Committee for the care of churches, chairman of the Cheltenham Civic Society, member of the executive of the Worcestershire branch of the Council for the preservation of rural England, and a member of the councils of the Friends of Gloucester cathedral and of Tewkesbury Abbey. He thus continued his work for and interest in architecture, archæology and history until the burden of increasing years and physical infirmity caused him to cease from his labours. Death came peacefully in the eighty-sixth year of his age. In the north country and in the west he will be remembered as not least among his fellows but honoured of them all.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead, quarto, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1890. Illustrations by W. H. Knowles, text by J. R. Boyle.

ARCHÆOLOGIA AELIANA.

SECOND SERIES.

Excavations at White Friars, Newcastle—XIII, 346.

The hospital of St. Mary, Newcastle—XV, 194.

The Vicar's pele, Corbridge—XIX, 171.

The Ogle monument in Bothal church—XIX, 243.

The bastle house at Doddington—XXI, 293.

THIRD SERIES.

The gatehouse and barbican at Alnwick castle—v, 286.

The church of the Holy Cross, Wallsend—vi, 191.

Newburn Hall and Manor House—XII, 186.

The Blackfriars, Newcastle—XVII, 314.

Benwell Tower, Newcastle—XIX, 89.

Reports, plans and illustrations of the excavations at Corbridge from 1907 to 1914—vols. iv to xii.

FOURTH SERIES.

The castle, Newcastle upon Tyne—II, 1.

PROCEEDINGS.

Many short papers and notes in 2nd and 3rd series.

A HISTORY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Architectural descriptions, plans and illustrations of Blanchland, Brinkburn and Tynmouth priories; Dilston, Etal, Aydon and Bywell castles, and of many churches and towers contained in volumes vi to xiii.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND.

Muggleswick, Durham—IV, 286.

Cocklaw tower—IV, 309.

Edlingham church—v, 37.

Sockburn church—v, 99.

ARCHÆOLOGIA.

Aydon castle, Northumberland—LVI, 71.

The Roman baths at Bath—LXXV, 1.

Deerhurst Priory church—LXXVII, 141.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

Effigy of a knight at Warkworth—LVI, 69.

The priory church at Blanchland—LIX, 328.

Excavations at Corstopitum—LXVI.

The priory church, Tynmouth—LXVII, 1.

Winstone church, Gloucestershire—LXXXV, 176.

Programme summer meeting at Ipswich, 1899.

Programme summer meeting at Durham, 1908.

JOURNAL OF ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS.

Excavations at Corstopitum—XVI, 3rd ser., 509.

BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY
TRANSACTIONS.

Grafton church, Gloucestershire—LXVII, 287.

Deerhurst Priory church—XLIX, 221.

Architecture in Gloucestershire to end of twelfth century—L, 57.

St. Nicholas, Ashchurch—I., 97.

Charfield church—LI, 1.

Presidential address—LII, 79.

Teddington church—LII, 93.

Elkstone church—LII, 187.

Inglesham church—LIII, 191.

The Blackfriars, Gloucester—LIV, 167.

Roman Villa, Hucclecote—LV, 339.

Reports of Gloucester Roman committee—LIII, 267 and LVI, 65.

INDEX

- ADAMKLISSI, Trajan's war-memorial at, 119
 Aldborough, mosaic of wolf and twins, 174
 Alletio, Corbridge potter, 192
 Alnwick castle, W. H. Knowles excavates at, 250
 Altrip, altar to *Concordia* from, 170
 Anne, sheriffs of Northumberland during the reign of Queen, 21
 Antonine levels at Corbridge, 217-219; planning, 220-224
 Apollinaris, C. Iulius, 193; dedicates altar to Dolichenus, 193
 Apotheosis, so-called frieze of, 181
 Arcurius, worship at Corbridge, 210
 Astarte, altar of, 200
 Attis, 198, 199
 Augustus, and *Mars Ultor*, 176
- BAINBRIDGE, Christopher, 1507, 86
 Bath, W. H. Knowles examines Roman baths at, 251
 Bath-houses, dedications to Fortuna in, 213
 Beaumont, Louis, 79
 Bede, the Venerable, 124
 Bedlingtonshire, *Sheriffs of*, 89. See *Sheriffs*, alphabetical list of
 Bek, Antony, 76
 Benson, Jessie dau. of John, marries W. H. Knowles, 248
 Benwell, dedication stones from, 103
 Birrens, Verus rebuilds, 178
 Blackgate, Newcastle upon Tyne, Saxon stone from Jarrow in, 94
 Blair, C. H. Hunter, on *The sheriffs of Northumberland*, part II, 1
 —, —, on *Judges of assize at Newcastle upon Tyne*, 225
 —, —, on *William Henry Knowles*, 248
- Booth, Lawrence, 1457, 83
 Brand, Rev. John, at St. Paul's, Jarrow, 93
 —, —, stones preserved by, 94
 Brand on the Jarrow inscriptions, 122
 Bridgeness, W. Lothian, a slab from, 241
 Brigantia, associated with Dolichenus, 194
 Brough (Derbyshire), Verus rebuilds, 178
 Browne, bishop, on the Jarrow inscriptions, 122
 Bruce's *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, edited by R. G. Collingwood, 255
 Bruce on Saxon stones from Jarrow, 94
 Bulmer, William, on *A fragmentary inscription of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus from Corbridge*, 239
 Burlington House, Saxon stone from Jarrow at, 94
 Bury, Richard of, 80
- CAELESTIS, equated with Brigantia, 195
 Calpurnius Agricola, governor of Britain, 240
 Campbell, Lord, chief justice, gift of arms to, 236
 Canabae, 147; Flavian c., 217
 Cannon Inn, the Old, Sheriff Hill, judges at, 231
 Carlisle, Mr. Justice Coleridge travels from, 230
 Carr, Ralph, high sheriff, 230
 —, —, sheriff, summer assizes under, 225
 Castor. See *Dioscuri*
 Cautos, 197
 Cautopates, 197
 Charles II, sheriffs of Northumberland under, 13

- Cheltenham, W. H. Knowles at, 248
 Child, Mr. Austin, drawing of eagle, 153
 Christians, on *signa*, 162; persecuted by Diocletian, 158
 Claudius, dedication of a temple to, 108
 Coleridge, Mr. Justice, travels from Carlisle, 230
Collegia, 133
 Collingwood, Robin George, I. A. Richmond on, 254
 Collingwood, R. G., edited ninth edition of Bruce's *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 255
 —, —, made Waynflete professor at Oxford, 255
 —, —, on the Saxon stones from Jarrow, 98
 —, —, re-edited Haverfield's *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 254
 —, —, wrote the *New Leviathan*, 255
 Commodus, and Hercules, 171; *invictus*, 212
 Commonwealth, sheriffs of Northumberland during the, 11
Concordia, 169-170; stone to, from Hexham, 134, 169-170; from Altrip, 170
 Constantine, stone erected in honour of, 123
Corbridge, A fragmentary inscription of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus from, William Bulmer on, 239
 Corbridge, cults at, 149-224
 —, *principia* at, 130
 —, sacred enclaves at, 136-149
 —, *scholae* at, 132-134
 —, supply base at, 127-136
 —, temples at, 137-149
 —, W. H. Knowles excavates at, 250
 Corbridge Pele, a stone built into, 241, 242
 Corstopitum, inscribed fragments from, 239
 —, stone from Corbridge Pele in museum at, 245
 Cromwell, Oliver, sheriffs of Northumberland during time of, 12
 Cutheard, bishop, buys Bedlingtonshire, 89
 Cybele, worship of, 197-199
 DIODORA, priestess of Hercules Tyrius, 157; her status, 203
Dioscuri, and *Dolichenus*, 180; on "Apotheosis" frieze, 182; on metope, 187; and Juno, 185
Discipulina, 165-169; — *Augusta*, 166; dedications to, at Castlesteads, 166, Bewcastle, 166, Lambaesis, 166, Bir Umm-Ali, 166, Altava, 166
Dolichenum, on Aventine, 180; at Stockstadt, 140
Dolichenus. See *Iuppiter D.*
 Donatianus, metrical inscription of, 195
 Dubitatus, shield-boss of, 164
 Dudley, William, 1476, 84
 EAGLE, 152-154; as Iuppiter's bird, 154; as legionary standard, 154
 Edward VII, sheriffs of Northumberland in the reign of, 60
 Edward VIII, sheriff of Northumberland in the reign of, 67
 Ellison, Cuthbert, of Hebburn Hall. Saxon stones in the possession of, 94
 FARNHAM, Nicholas of, 75
 Faunus, on Corbridge relief, 175
 Felton Park, Thomas Riddell of, named sheriff, 230
 Flag. See *Signa, Vexillum*
 Flambard, Ranulph, 72
 Flavian levels at Corbridge, 216; F. *canabae*, 217; F. rampart, 219; oven, 219
 Flavinus, tombstone of, 190
 Fordham, John of, 1382, 81
 Fortuna, cult of, 213-214; relief of, 213; associated with bath-houses, 213; F. and Juno, 214; F. and Minerva, 214; attributes, 213
 Fox, Richard, 1494, 85
Genius cohortis, 160; *g. civitatis* 160; *g. centuriae*, 160, 161; *g. immunitum*, 161; at Housesteads, 161; at Carnuntum, 161
Genius vexillationis. See *Genius cohortis*
 George I, sheriffs of Northumberland under, 24

George II, sheriffs of Northumberland under, 27
 George III, sheriffs of Northumberland in the reign of, 33
 George IV, sheriffs of Northumberland during the reign of, 44
 George V, sheriffs of Northumberland during the reign of, 62
 George VI, sheriffs of Northumberland in the reign of, 67
 Golenicheff, donor of flag at Moscow, 163

Hadad, equated with *Sol invictus*, 211; consort of *dea Syria*, 211

Hadrian, Blackgate stone in connection with, 102

Hadrianic inscriptions from Jarrow, 121

Hadrianic war memorial on Tyne-side, *Stones from a*, I. A. Richmond and R. P. Wright on, 93

Hadrian's Wall, Aulus Platorius Nepos the builder of, 99, 103

Halton, dedication tablets from, 103

Harmony. See *Concordia*

Hatfield, Thomas of, 1345, 80

Haverfield, Prof., inscription expanded by, 240

Hebburn Hall, Cuthbert Ellison of, Saxon stones in the possession of, 94

Hedley, W. P., on a stone built into Corbridge Pele, 241

Hercules, an army god, 171; conceptions of, 171; panel of, 171-172; kills Hydra, 171; Athena and, 172; *H. invictus*, 172; at Risingham, 172; at Birdoswald, 172; *H. victor*, 173; at Burgh-by-Sands, 172; *H. invictus*, 272

Hercules Tyrius, 199-203; altar of, 199; son of Asteria, 201; son of Zeus, 201

Herebericht, presbyter, of Monkwearmouth, tombstone of, 121

Hermes Hegemonios, 198

Hexham, stone to *Concordia* from, 169; stone to *Discipulina*, 168; altars to *Maponus*, 207

Hisperica famina, 206

Holy Cross, the veneration of the, 124

Housesteads, *Victoria* at, 160; *genius* from, 161

Huebner on Saxon stones from Jarrow, 94

Huscarl, Roger, justice itinerant, 226

Hydra, killing of, by Hercules, 171

IRON, connected with *Dolichenus*, 179

Iuno, 156-158; member of Capitoline triad, 156; medallions of, 156; attributes of, 156-157; statue of, 157-158; associated with *Dioscuri*, 185

Iuppiter Dolichenus, cult of, 179-196; attributes, 179; *Iuno* as consort, 179; connexion with iron, 179-180; frieze of, 181-186; pediment of, 189-191; metopes of, 186-189; bull of, 191-193; altar of, 191-196; pottery of, 192

Iuppiter optimus maximus, worship of, at Corbridge, 149. —, heads of, 149-150. —, as *stator* or *conservator*, 151. —, connexion with *sacellum*, 151. —, statue of, 152. —, eagle of, 153-154

JAMES I, sheriffs of Northumberland during the reign of, 3

James II, sheriffs of Northumberland under, 17

Jarrow cross, *The inscription on the*, Wilhelm Levison on, 121

Jarrow, Roman blocks in church at, 117

—, St. Paul's church, 93, 121

Judges of assize at Newcastle upon Tyne, C. H. Hunter Blair on, 225

Judges, the, met by the sheriff of Newcastle, 228

Jupiter. See *Iuppiter*

KELLAWE, bishop Richard of, 69, 77

Kirkham, Walter of, 75

Knowles, W. H., elected a member of the society, 249

—, —, elected a vice-president, 249

—, —, elected F.S.A., 250

—, —, excavations by, 250

—, —, death of, 248

- Knowles, William Henry*, memoir of, by C. H. Hunter Blair, 248
- LABOURS of Hercules, the second represented at Corbridge, 171
- Langley, Thomas, 1406, 83
- Lawe, the, South Shields, 120
- Levison, Wilhelm, on *The inscription on the Jarrow cross*, 121
- Librarius*, 154. —, duties of, 155
- London, Society of Antiquaries of, W. H. Knowles elected a fellow of, 250
- Low Fell, New Cannon Inn, the judges at, 231
- Lucius Verus, consul for second time, 240
- Luna*, connected with Dolichenus, 180, 184
- Lupus, Virius, Corbridge inscription of, 134
- MACKINNON, Lord Justice, on the entertainment of the judges at Newcastle, 234
- Malvern, W. H. Knowles dies at, 248
- Maponus, cult of, 206-210; dedicators, 208; a harpist, 209; associated with Artemis, 210; British connexions, 208
- Mars, associated with Neptune, 204
- Mars Ultor*, cult of, 176-179
- Marsh, Richard, bishop of Durham, justice itinerant, 226
- Matres*, at Corbridge, 210
- Melkarth, 202
- Men*, 198
- Menotyranus*, 198
- Minerva, altar to, at Corbridge, 154; —, at High Rochester, 155; — *Victrix*, 155; *Augusta*, 155n.; panel to, 155; at Aquincum, 155; at Lambaesis, 155; at Ostia, 155; Homer on M., 155
- Mitford, Bertram, manuscript volume written by, 225
- Modron, mother of Maponus, 208; equated with Leto, 210
- Monck, Sir Charles L. M., appointed chairman to consider expenses of the office of sheriff, 233
- Monkwearmouth, presbyter Herbericht of, 121
- Mother-goddesses, at Corbridge, 210
- NEPTUNE, cult of, 203-4; associated with Mars, 204; at inland forts, 204
- Neville, Robert, 1438, 83
- New Leviathan* written by R. G. Collingwood, 255
- Newcastle upon Tyne, Judges of assize* at, C. H. Hunter Blair on, 225
- Newcastle upon Tyne, Blackgate, Saxon stone from Jarrow at, 94
- , Eldon Square, the judges lodge in, 230
- , Infirmary, governors of, dine at the Turk's Head, 226
- , King's College, W. H. Knowles designs part of, 248
- , Lord Justice Mackinnon on the entertainment of the judges at, 234
- , Moot Hall, ceremony in, 227
- , old Mansion House in, 230
- , part of the county of Northumberland, 226
- , picnic on the town barge at the assizes, 232
- , Public Library, manuscript volume bought by, 225
- , the sheriff of, meets the judges, 228
- , W. H. Knowles born at, 248
- , W. H. Knowles excavates at, 250
- Newcombe, William Lister, W. H. Knowles articulated to, 248
- Norham, Sheriffs of*, C. H. Hunter Blair on, 69. See *Sheriffs*, alphabetical list of
- Norham castle, keeper of, 69
- North, Roger, gift of arms to, 235
- , —, on the entertainment of the judges at Newcastle, 232
- North Eastern Electric Supply Co., stone from Corbridge Pele deposited at Corstopitum through the, 245
- Northumberland, The sheriffs of*, part II, C. H. Hunter Blair on, 1. See *Sheriffs*, alphabetical list of
- Northumberland, History of, committee, W. H. Knowles a member of, 249
- , Newcastle part of the county of, 226
- , Spring assizes for 1835, 225

- Nymphs, cult of, 205-206; depicted on a capital, 205; statue of a nymph, 206
- OYSTERS, Roman, at Corbridge, 217
- PALMYRA, *principia* at, 131
- Panthea, 196; equated with Cybele, 198
- Pateshull, Martin, justice itinerant, 226
- Pediment, of wolf and twins, 173; of *Dolichenus*, 189
- Pelta*, as ornament, 211
- Percy, George, appointed steward of Bedlingtonshire, 89
- , Sir Henry, appointed steward of Bedlingtonshire, 89
- Philip of Poitou, 73
- Platorius Nepos, building of the Wall under, 99, 103
- Poitou, Philip of, 73
- Pollux. See *Dioscuri*
- Pons Aelius*, stone of Verus at, 178
- Pons Mulvius*, the battle of, 123
- Poore, Richard le, 74
- Principia*, at Corbridge, 130, at Palmyra, 131, at Daganiya, 135
- Puiset, Hugh de, 72
- Pulcher, 202
- Quinquatrus*, feast of Minerva, 154
- Quintus Pomponius Falco, governorship of, 115
- RELIGION, Diocletian's revival of, 158
- Remus, suckled by wolf, 173
- Richardson's tract, examples from, 236
- Richmond, I. A., on *Roman legions at Corbridge, their supply-base, temples and religious cults*, 127-224
- , —, on *Robin George Collingwood*, 254
- , —, on a slab from Bridge-ness, West Lothian, 241
- , —, and R. P. Wright on *Stones from a Hadrianic war memorial on Tyneside*, 93
- Riddell, Thomas, of Felton Park named sheriff, 230
- Robert of Holy Island, 76
- Roma, cult of, 173-176; at Maryport, 173; at *Bremenium*, 173
- Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, re-edited by R. G. Collingwood, 254
- Romulus, suckled by wolf, 173
- Rosaliae*, 163
- Rufinus, words taken from, 123, 124
- Ruthall, Thomas, 1509, 86
- Salus*, associated with *Dolichenus*, 195; equated with *Hygieia*, 195
- Saxon dedication of St. Paul's, Jarrow, 93
- Scholae*, 132-134
- Screens at Risingham, 165; Chesterholm, 165; Doura, 165
- Second Legion, altar to *Disciplina*, 167; *vexillum* of, 163
- Senhouse, William, 1502, 85
- Sheriff Hill, the Old Cannon Inn, the judges at, 231
- Sheriffs of Northumberland. The*, part II, C. H. Hunter Blair on, 1
- Adamson, Lawrence William, 1900, 59
- Addison, Francis, 1671, 15
- Allgood, Isaac, 1721, 25
- , James, 1786, 38
- , Lancelot, 1746, 31
- , Lancelot John Hunter, 1858, 51
- , Robert Lancelot, 1818, 43
- Ames, Henry Metcalfe, 1864, 52
- Anderson, George, 1886, 56
- , Major George Denis, 1935, 67
- , Henry, 1615, 5
- , Thomas, 1843, 48
- Andrews, Hugh, 1901, 60
- Armstrong, Sir William George, 1873, 54
- Askew, Adam, 1798, 40
- , David Hugh Watson, 1912, 62
- , George Adam, 1800, 40
- , John, 1776, 36
- , Watson, 1863, 52
- Atkinson, Frank Buddle, 1941, 68
- , James Henry Holles, 1847, 49
- , Ralph, 1887, 57
- Atkinson-Clark, George Dixon, 1883, 56
- Aynesley, Gawen, 1702, 21

Sheriffs—*continued*

- Aynesley, Gawen, 1749, 31
 Bacon, John, 1692, 19
 —, John William, 1763, 34
 —, William, 1745, 30
 Baker, George, 1815, 43
 Baker-Cresswell, Oswin Cum-
 ing, 1882, 56
 Bates, Cadwallader John, 1890,
 57
 —, Ralph, 1762, 33
 —, —, 1812, 42
 Bell, Charles Loraine, 1895, 58
 —, Lieut.-Col. Henry Stanley,
 1939, 68
 —, Matthew, 1797, 40
 —, —, 1816, 43
 Benson, Walter John, 1917, 63
 Bewicke, Calverley, 1726, 26
 —, —, 1876, 55
 —, —, 1882, 37
 —, Robert, 1637, 9
 —, —, 1694, 19
 —, —, 1726, 26
 —, —, 1760, 33
 —, Thomas, 1662, 13
 Bigge, Charles William, 1802, 41
 —, Thomas Charles, 1771, 35
 —, William, 1751, 31
 Blackett, Edward, 1679, 17
 —, —, 1757, 32
 —, —, 1833, 46
 —, Sir Edward William, 1889,
 57
 —, Sir Hugh Douglas, 1914,
 62
 —, John, 1691, 18
 —, —, 1739, 29
 —, Walter, 1731, 28
 —, William, 1688, 18
 —, —, 1807, 42
 Blake, Francis, 1772, 35
 —, —, 1784, 37
 Blencowe-Cookson, Col. Philip,
 1924, 64
 Bosanquet, Charles, 1828, 46
 Bowes, Andrew Robinson, 1780,
 37
 —, Francis, 1664, 14
 Brandling, Charles, 1781, 37
 —, Francis, 1626, 7
 —, Robert, 1617, 6
 —, —, 1630, 7
 Browne, Alexander, 1702, 21
 —, —, 1006, 61

Sheriffs—*continued*

- Browne, Nicholas, 1748, 31
 —, William, 1702, 21
 Bruere, William Sadlier, 1809, 42
 Burdon, Augustus Edward, 1898,
 59
 —, George, 1848, 49
 Burdon-Sanderson, Richard,
 1892, 57
 Burrell, Bryan, 1768, 34
 —, Brian, 1856, 51
 —, William, 1811, 42
 Cadogan, Cadogan Hodgson,
 1880, 55
 Cardonnell, Adam Mansfeldt
 Lawson de, 1796, 40
 Carnaby, William, 1635, 8
 Carr, James, 1744, 30
 —, John, 1813, 42
 —, Joseph, 1690, 18
 —, Ralph, 1845, 49
 —, Thomas, 1629, 7
 —, —, 1778, 36
 —, William, 1709, 22
 —, —, 1750, 31
 Carr-Ellison, John Ralph, 1888,
 57
 Charlton, William, 1721, 26
 —, William Henry, 1857, 51
 —, Capt. William Henry,
 1932, 66
 —, William John, 1837, 47
 Clarke, William, 1820, 44
 Clavering, Charles John, 1794,
 39
 —, James, 1703, 22
 —, John, 1614, 5
 —, —, 1623, 7
 —, Robert, 1645, 10
 —, Sir Thomas, 1817, 43
 Clayton, Nathaniel George, 1895,
 58
 Clennell, John, 1704, 22
 —, Luke, 1726, 27
 Coatsworth, John, 1724, 26
 —, William, 1718, 25
 Collingwood, Alexander, 1724, 26
 —, —, 1761, 33
 —, Edward, 1697, 20
 —, —, 1787, 38
 —, —, 1824, 45
 —, Edward Gordon, 1919, 63
 —, Edward John, 1844, 48
 —, Edward Foyle, 1937, 67
 —, Henry, 1766, 34

Sheriffs—*continued*

- Collingwood, Henry, 1793, 39
 —, Henry John William, 1832, 46
 Cookson, Isaac, 1838, 47
 —, John, 1862, 52
 Coulson, John Blenkinsopp, 1868, 53
 Cowen, John Edward, 1927, 65
 Craster, Daniel, 1779, 36
 —, Edmund, 1681, 17
 —, —, 1822, 44
 —, John, 1879, 55
 —, Shafto, 1803, 41
 —, Thomas Wood, 1852, 50
 Cresswell-Baker, Addison John, 1821, 44
 Crossman, Major-Gen. Sir William, 1894, 58
 Cruddas, Col. Bernard, 1942, 68
 —, William Donaldson, 1903, 60
 Culley, George, 1867, 53
 —, Matthew Tewart, 1869, 53
 Cuthbert, Capt. James Harold, 1911, 62
 —, William, 1860, 51
 Davidson, John, 1839, 48
 Delaval, Edward, 1721, 25
 —, Francis Blake, 1729, 27
 —, George Shafto, 1739, 29
 —, John, 1610, 5
 —, —, 1624, 7
 —, —, 1634, 8
 —, Ralph, 1604, 4
 —, —, 1621, 6
 —, —, 1649, 11
 Dixon, Abraham, 1759, 33
 Dixon-Dixon, 1827, 45
 Drew-Wilkinson, Clennell Frank Massey, 1934, 66
 Ellison, Cuthbert, 1808, 42
 —, Henry, 1734, 28
 Errington, John, 1865, 52
 —, Rowland, 1855, 51
 —, William, 1738, 29
 Fenwick, Edward, 1656, 12
 —, —, 1659, 12
 —, John, 1644, 10
 —, —, 1727, 27
 —, Martin, 1673, 15
 —, Robert, 1753, 32
 —, William, 1658, 12
 —, —, 1712, 23
 —, —, 1752, 32

Sheriffs—*continued*

- Fenwicke-Clennell, Thomas Clennell, 1902, 60
 Fletcher, George, 1710, 23
 Forster, Claudius, 1612, 5
 —, Francis, 1677, 16
 —, John, 1672, 15
 —, Matthew, 1620, 6
 —, —, 1765, 34
 —, Richard, 1651, 11
 —, Thomas, 1637, 8
 —, —, 1702, 21
 —, William, 1666, 14
 Gregson, Anthony, 1825, 45
 —, Henry, 1870, 53
 Grey, Henry, 1735, 28
 —, John, 1700, 21
 —, Ralph, 1610, 5
 —, Ralph William, 1792, 39
 Grieve, Davidson Richard, 1788, 38
 Hall, Gabriel, 1705, 22
 Hargrave, James, 1738, 29
 —, William, 1783, 37
 Heron, Cuthbert, 1625, 7
 —, —, 1667, 14
 —, —, 1668, 15
 —, John, 1669, 15
 —, —, 1689, 18
 Heselrigg, Robert, 1698, 20
 Hodgson-Hinde, John, 1849, 49
 Hope-Wallace, John George Frederick, 1871, 53
 Horsley, John, 1709, 23
 —, Thomas, 1663, 13
 Howard, James, 1683, 17
 Hughes, George Pringle, 1891, 57
 Hunter, John, 1805, 41
 Huntley, Richard Hodgson, 1877, 55
 Ilderton, Sanderson, 1829, 46
 Isaacson, Anthony, 1741, 30
 Jenison, Ralph, 1660, 13
 —, —, 1716, 24
 Johnson, John, 1714, 24
 Joicey, Lieut.-Col. Hon. Hugh Edward, 1933, 66
 Kerr, John Strother, 1740, 30
 Killingworth, Luke, 1655, 12
 Lawson, Hilton, 1767, 34
 —, Robert, 1707, 22
 —, William, 1840, 48
 Leadbitter, Edward, 1893, 58

Sheriffs—*continued*

- Leather, John Towlerston, 1875.
 54
 Leith, Lieut.-Col. Sir Alexander,
 1923, 64
 Liddell, Sir Henry George, 1785,
 38
 —, Sir Thomas Henry, 1804,
 41
 Linskill, William, 1806, 41
 Lisle, Robert, 1647, 11
 —, —, 1789, 38
 Loraine, Charles, 1742, 30
 —, —, 1814, 43
 —, Thomas, 1674, 16
 —, Sir William, 1774, 36
 Lowes, John, 1790, 39
 —, William, 1773, 35
 Middleton, Sir Arthur Edward,
 1884, 56
 —, Sir John, 1711, 23
 —, Robert, 1652, 11
 —, Thomas, 1618, 6
 —, —, 1633, 8
 —, —, 1637, 8
 —, William, 1665, 14
 Milbank, Mark, 1661, 13
 —, —, 1678, 16
 —, —, 1685, 17
 Milburn, Capt. Archibald Wil-
 liam, 1936, 67
 —, John Davison, 1905, 60
 —, Sir Leonard John, 1928,
 65
 Mitford, Bertram Osbaldeston,
 1835, 47
 —, John Philip Osbaldeston,
 1878, 55
 —, Robert, 1640, 9
 —, —, 1650, 11
 —, —, 1696, 19
 —, —, 1722, 26
 Monck, Sir Charles Miles Lam-
 bert, 1801, 41
 Mortimer, Ralph George Elphin-
 stone, 1916, 63
 Muscamp, William, 1622, 6
 Neile, Richard, 1686, 18
 Newall, Norman Dakeyne, 1940,
 68
 Noble, Sir Andrew, 1896, 58
 —, Sir George John William,
 1918, 63
 —, Philip Ernest, 1922, 64
 Ogle, Henry, 1680, 17

Sheriffs—*continued*

- Ogle, Henry, 1706, 22
 —, —, 1737, 29
 —, John, 1654, 12
 —, —, 1733, 28
 —, Newton Charles, 1909, 61
 Ord, William, 1747, 31
 —, —, 1777, 36
 —, William, 1638, 9
 —, —, 1711, 23
 —, —, 1819, 44
 —, —, 1846, 49
 Parsons, Hon. Charles Algernon,
 1910, 62
 Pawson, William John, 1861, 52
 —, William, 1826, 45
 Pearson, Michael, 1769, 35
 Pease, Howard, 1913, 62
 Rawlings, Henry, 1712, 23
 Reed, Christopher, 1764, 34
 —, John, 1732, 28
 —, —, 1810, 42
 Riddell, Edward, 1842, 48
 —, John Giffard, 1881, 55
 —, Sir John Walter Buchanan,
 1897, 59
 —, Thomas, 1836, 47
 Ridley, Sir Matthew White, 1841,
 48
 Roddam, Roddam John, 1872,
 54
 —, William, 1834, 47
 Rogers, John, 1693, 19
 —, —, 1715, 24
 Scholefield, Arthur, 1926, 55
 Scurfield, Ralph, 1699, 20
 Selby, Prideaux John, 1823, 45
 —, Ralph, 1613, 5
 —, Walter, 1853, 50
 —, Walter Charles, 1885, 56
 —, William, 1603, 3
 —, —, 1607, 4
 —, —, 1616, 6
 —, —, 1641, 9
 —, —, 1670, 15
 Shafto, Cuthbert, 1795, 39
 —, John, 1675, 16
 —, Robert, 1653, 12
 —, —, 1668, 15
 —, —, 1695, 19
 —, —, 1717, 25
 —, —, 1754, 32
 —, William, 1646, 10
 Silvertop, George, 1831, 46
 —, Henry Charles, 1859, 51

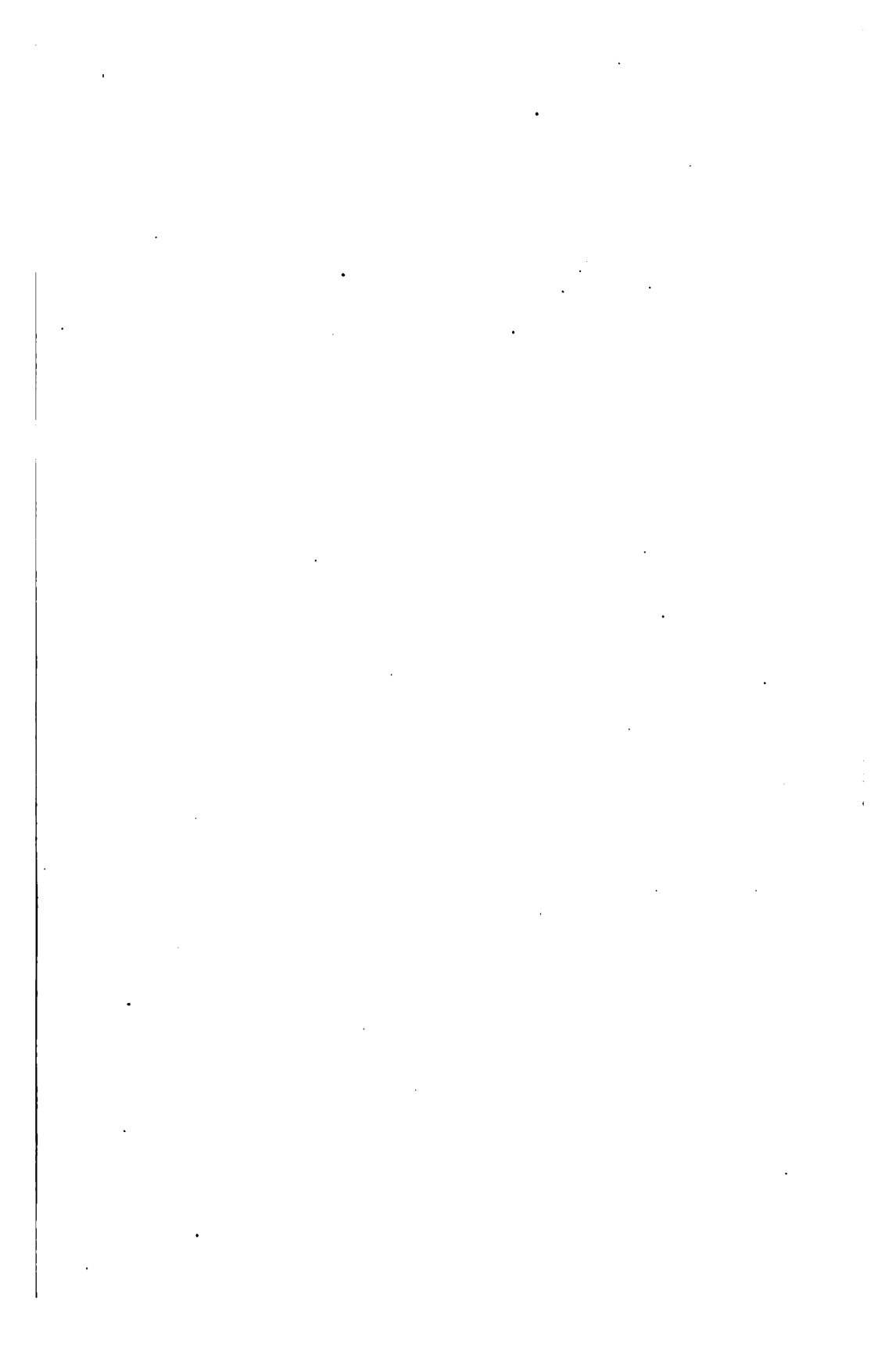
Sheriffs—continued

- Simpson, John, 1770, 35
 Smith, Clarence Dalrymple, 1921, 64
 —, Major Philip Eustace, 1931, 66
 Speke, Capt. Herbert Benjamin, 1930, 65
 St. Paul, Sir Horace, 1851, 50
 Straker, John Coppin, 1907, 61
 Straker-Smith, Thomas Dalrymple, 1938, 67
 Strother, Mark, 1713, 24
 Swinburne, Sir Hubert, 1920, 64
 —, John, 1755, 32
 —, —, 1799, 40
 —, —, 1866, 53
 —, Thomas, 1627, 7
 Swinhoe, Gilbert, 1642, 9
 Talbot, Edward, 1609, 4
 Taylor, Thomas, 1904, 60
 Tempest, Nicholas, 1632, 8
 Trevelyan, Sir John, 1830, 46
 —, Sir Walter Calverley, 1850, 49
 —, Walter, 1775, 36
 Villiers, William Noel, 1929, 65
 Waddilove, George Hope, 1915, 63
 Watson, John, 1746, 30
 —, Thomas, 1730, 27
 Watson-Armstrong, William Armstrong, 1899, 59
 Weldon, Michael, 1643, 10
 White, Matthew, 1720, 25
 —, —, 1756, 32
 Whitfield, Matthew, 1728, 27
 —, Utrecht, 1676, 16
 Widdrington, Brig.-Gen. Bertram Fitzherbert, 1925, 64
 —, Henry, 1606, 4
 —, Samuel Edward, 1854, 50
 —, Shalcross Fitzherbert, 1874, 54
 —, William, 1636, 8
 Wilkinson, William, 1699, 20
 —, —, 1758, 33
 Woods, James Edward, 1908, 61
 —, John, 1791, 39
- Sheriffs of Northam*, 69
 Asketil, 72
 Aynesley, John, 1509, 86
 Beaumont, Henry, 1316, 79
 Bulmer, William, 1523, 87
 Carnaby, William, 1401, 82

Sheriffs—continued

- Cholmley, Richard, 1501, 85
 Clifford, Sir Robert, 1314, 78
 —, Robert of, 1214, 73
 Colville, Robert of, 1314, 78
 —, William, 1243, 75
 Conyers, Roger, 1174, 72
 Dacre, Christopher, 1525, 87
 —, Philip, 1520, 87
 Dagworth, Nicholas, 1370, 81
 Evers, William, 1537, 88
 Ferlington, Henry of, 1190, 72, 73
 Goswick, Walter of, 1314, 78
 Grey, Ralph, of Chillingham, 1502, 85
 —, Thomas, 1318, 79
 —, —, 1345, 80
 —, —, 1395, 82
 —, —, of Chillingham, 1483, 84, 85
 Heddon, Simon of, 1260, 76
 Henrede, Richard of, 1230, 74
 Heron, Gerard, 1382, 81
 —, John, 1373, 81
 —, Roger, 1475, 84
 John son of Philip, 1237, 75
 Kellawe, Patrick of, 1311, 77
 Kirkham, Robert of, 1275, 76
 Layton, Bryan, 1540, 88
 Lucy, Stephen, 1227, 74
 Malb', 1180, 72
 Maners, Robert, 1326, 80
 Middleton, John, 1482, 84
 Neville, Robert, 1258, 75
 —, William, 1177, 72
 Northumberland, Henry Percy earl of, 1481, 84
 —, —, 1527, 88
 Ogle, John, 1517, 86
 —, Robert, 1403, 82, 83
 Papedy, 1110, 72
 Peche, Bartholomew, 1227, 73
 Percy, Henry, earl of Northumberland, 1481, 84
 —, —, 1527, 88
 Radcliffe, Edward, 1512, 86
 Richmond, Thomas of, 1310, 77
 Ridel, William, 1311, 77
 Roubiry, Walter of, 1284, 76
 Rumseye, John of, 1236, 74
 Swinhoe, John, of Scremerston, 1507, 86
- Sheriffs of Bedlingtonshire*, 89
 Dacre, Philip, 1530, 90
 Hilton, Thomas, 1546, 90

- Sherwood, John, 1484, 84
 Shields, South, Roman fort at, 120
Signa, 162-165; *signa cohortis et numeri*, 162; relief of, 162; *rosaliae signorum*, 163; panels of, 164-165; savings-bank of, 165
Signiferi, 165
 Skirlaw, Walter, 1388, 82
 Sockburn, W. H. Knowles excavates at, 250
Sol, connected with *Dolichenus*, 180; on frieze, 184; on metope, 187
Sol invictus, Victory and, 159; cult of, 210-213; date, 210; equated with *Hadad*, 211; Commodus intrudes upon the cult, 212
 Southward, W. T., on the Jarrow inscriptions, 122
 Stanwix, *Victoria* at, 160
 St. Cuthbert, Bedlingtonshire. the patrimony of, 89
 St. Paul's church, Jarrow, 93
 Stichil, Robert of, 76
Stones from a Hadrianic war memorial on Tyneside, I. A. Richmond and R. P. Wright on, 93
 Suetonius Paulinus, British province established by, 106
Suggestus, panels possibly for, 154, 164, altars on, 167
 Swinburne, Sir Thomas, expenditure as sheriff, 231, 235
- TEMPLES, Roman, at Corbridge, 137-149; legal status, 147; Temple I, 137-138; II, 138-142; III, 142-143; IV, 143; V, 143-144; VI, 145; VII, 145
 Tertullian, on *signa*, 162; on persecution, 158
 Thunderbolt, as eagle's perch, 154; Iuppiter's weapon, 151
 Titus Pontius Sabinus, Roman army under, 115
 Trajan's war-memorial at Adamklissi, 119
 Tunstall, Cuthbert, 1530, 88
- Tyne bridge, the sheriff meets the judges at the boundary stone on, 228
 Tynemouth Priory, 120
 —, W. H. Knowles excavates at, 250
Tyneside, Stones from a Hadrianic war memorial on, I. A. Richmond and R. P. Wright on, 93
- VEGETIUS, on *librarii*, 155; on *signiferi*, 165
 Venantius Fortunatus, hymn by, 125
 Vergil, inspires Corbridge relief, 175
 Verus, Cnaeus Iulius, Corbridge stone of, 178
Vexillarius, meaning discussed, 203
Vexillum, at Corbridge, 163; at Bonn, 163; at Moscow, 163; borne by Victory, 159
Vexillus, a solecism, 163
Victoria, 158-160; — *Augusti*, 158-159; sculptures depicting, 159; at Housesteads, 160; at Stanwix, 160; on *vexillum*, 163
 Victoria, sheriffs of Northumberland during the reign of, 47
 Vipont, Robert, justice itinerant, 226
- WAYNFLETE professor at Oxford, R. G. Collingwood became, 255
 Whitelocke, Sir James, gift of arms to, 235, 237
 William and Mary, sheriffs of Northumberland under, 18
 William III, sheriffs of Northumberland under, 19
 William IV, sheriffs of Northumberland during the reign of, 46
 Wolf, Capitoline, 173; pediment of, 173-174
 Wolsey, Thomas, 1523, 87
- YELVERTON, Sir Henry, gift of arms to, 235
 York, the ninth legion at, 115





DA
670
N 79A6
ser. 4
v. 21
1943



Stanford University Libraries
Stanford, California

Return this book on or before date due.



